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THE SOURCES OF TYNDALE'S VER- SION OF THE PENTATEUCH

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE DIVINITY
SCHOOL IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

(DEPARTMENT OF OLD TESTAMENT LITERATURE AND INTERPRETATION)

BY
JOHN ROTHWELL SLATER

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THE SOURCES OF TYNDALE'S VERSION OF THE PENTATEUCH

Among the heroes and martyrs of the English Reformation none is more worthy of the historian's study than William Tyndale. The singular gaps in the records of his life, which have contributed to the popular neglect of Tyndale, remind one of the similar hiatus in our knowledge of Shakspeare's career; the more because these two sixteenth-century leaders, different in every other respect, were alike in the depth of the impression they made on the English language at a critical stage of its development. It is known to scholars, but hardly to the general public, that the English New Testament of our own time is essentially the work of Tyndale. A comparison of his pioneer version with the later sixteenth-century translations and with the Authorized Version of 1611 shows conclusively that all the changes and improvements from Coverdale down to the American Revision are numerically far less than the phrases and sentences of the exiled scholar of the Reformation period. As one begins to perceive that our rich heritage of perfect phrases and melodious rhythm in the English Testament has descended, not from the bishops of 1611 or of 1558, but from this much-abused martyr of King Henry's reign, the wonder grows that his very name is strange to the ordinary Bible reader, and that his romantic history is all but forgotten. No less intrepid and original than his great predecessor Wiclif, he lived at a time when the new learning made possible a translation from the original tongues, and when the English language had become more flexible, richer in synonyms, and better fitted to render the Hebrew and Hellenic Greek idioms without violence. No less aflame with indignation against the abuses of the priesthood and the wrongs of the English people than was Wiclif, he entered upon his work at precisely the moment when the long-smoldering fires of reformation wanted but a spark to set them off in England, as they had been kindled in Germany by Luther's attack on Tetzl. It was Tyndale's Testament more than Henry's divorce or the minor ecclesiastical reforms of the bishops that started the English Reformation. It was Tyndale's words that were on men's lips in the dark days that followed; Tyndale's matchless rendering of the gospels that the martyrs recited in their dungeons and at the stake; Tyndale's bold doctrines of scriptural interpretation that saved England from the bibliolatry of German Protestantism after

Luther's death. Some of his ideas were too radical for the age. Modern writers who suggest, as if for the first time, that the translator of Scripture should avoid words of ecclesiastical connotation foreign to the original learn with surprise and admiration that Tyndale substituted "congregation" for "church," used "love" in 1 Corinthians, chap. 13, and anticipated other modern innovations in an age when such ideas were strange in England.

It has been often said that in this popularizing of the Scripture, as in other phases of his work, Tyndale simply copied Luther. We shall have to consider at length the direct and the indirect obligations of the English to the German reformer; and shall find large elements of indebtedness which none would have been freer to acknowledge than Tyndale himself, had the question been put to him by his friends rather than by his enemies.¹ But this may be said at the very outset, that to charge a man with "copying Luther" is to pay him a unique compliment, for a more original and inimitable person never lived than the good doctor of Wittenberg, to match whose countless whims and fancies and homely German idioms would be a task for a master-actor. If it be true that Tyndale, moved by Luther's spirit and aided by his genius, brought the gospel to the people of England in a way as suited to the English situation as Luther's was to the very different state of affairs in Germany, it can hardly be a detraction from his merits to acknowledge the relation. The facts have long been obscured by partisans, who have sought to prove either that Tyndale worked absolutely without aid, or that he was a mere camp-follower of the German reformers. Like many other questions touching the Reformation in England, this long-standing controversy over Tyndale's originality has been entangled in ecclesiastical side issues and historical mazes, with which the modern investigator need have little to do. A study of the sources is much more profitable than a fruitless attempt to balance the prejudiced or ignorant opinions of superficial historians.

The present inquiry is devoted to a neglected phase of the work of Tyndale, of much interest to the Old Testament scholar, and not without its bearing on English literary history. Having published his version of the New Testament, and several doctrinal treatises to be mentioned shortly, the reformer proceeded to begin a much larger enterprise, which unhappily he never completed—the translation of the Old Testament. The Pentateuch was issued in 1530. It is a rare book, of which only a few copies exist, and never reprinted until the careful and admirable edition of Dr.

¹ On Tyndale's indebtedness to Luther see Eadie, *The English Bible*, Vol. I, pp. 143-46, 209-12; Moulton, *The History of the English Bible*, pp. 87, 88.

J. I. Mombert appeared in 1884.¹ This, the first English version from the Old Testament since the fourteenth century, possesses a peculiar interest for all students of the English Bible. When it appeared, the study of Hebrew was a novelty in England, the first chair of Hebrew in an English university having been established in 1524 at Cambridge,² in the year that Tyndale had left his native land never to return. On the continent scholars had been studying Hebrew, with the aid of learned Jews, for half a century. Hebrew studies flourished in Italy and Spain. Johann Reuchlin, Sebastian Münster, and others had cultivated the language with zeal and genius in Germany, and in several of the German universities great advance had been made in this difficult branch of philology. But England was a generation behind Germany in this, as she has since been in some other branches of sacred learning, and Tyndale, when he began his task of rendering the Old Testament into English, had no native precedents to follow. The interesting question arises: How far did he succeed in his aim? To what extent did he use the Hebrew in his version of the Pentateuch? Was he, as his detractors have declared, a mere dabbler in Semitic grammar, parading his etymologies of proper names to hide ignorance of the language itself, and depending almost entirely on the Vulgate and on Luther? Or was the father of our English New Testament also the father of English Hebrew scholarship, who, under many limitations, acquired in Germany an adequate mastery of the language, and made his own version independently and with scholarly discrimination?

That this is no trivial or academic question is shown by two facts: first, that Tyndale's Pentateuch is essentially our own Pentateuch in style and substance, and, so to speak, set the style of rendering Hebrew prose which, as carried out by later translators in the remainder of the Old Testament, has become the grand style for religious compositions in English; second, that, if tradition is to be given due weight, we are to attribute to Tyndale's hand, not only the Pentateuch, published during his lifetime, but the historical books from Joshua through Chronicles as they appeared in print for the first time in the so-called "Matthew's Bible," edited by the martyr John Rogers in 1536, and adopted by Coverdale a year later.³ It is the testimony of early historians that Tyndale left these

¹ *William Tyndale's Five Books of Moses Called the Pentateuch*. (New York: A. D. F. Randolph, 1884.)

² Robert Wakefield was the first incumbent. See *Athenæum*, 1885, pp. 500 ff.

³ See Demaus, *Life of William Tyndale*, p. 478; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1484; Anderson, *Annals of the English Bible*, p. 295. Foxe's reference is as follows: "John Rogers brought up in the Universitie of Cambridge, where hee profitably trauelled in good learning, at the length was chosen and called by the Merchants Aduenturers, to

books in manuscript, the work at least in part of his imprisonment, and that they were secretly conveyed to Rogers and issued by him. On this hypothesis we owe to Tyndale nearly the entire historical portion of the Old Testament, comprising more than one-half of the whole. In the absence of any proof of this tradition, it would be improper to base any independent argument upon these books; but the certainty that Tyndale carried his Hebrew studies beyond the Pentateuch, and pursued them with eagerness up to the very end of his life, justifies us in regarding him as more than a mere beginner and amateur in the language.

The inquiry is the more interesting because it has been neglected. The historians of the English Bible, devoting large space to Tyndale's New Testament, pass over his Pentateuch with scanty mention, as a minor episode in his career, of only incidental biographical interest. The New Testament, of course, lay nearest to his heart, and was the work by which his influence upon the course of events in England was chiefly exerted. In it he found the true doctrine of salvation with which he sought to displace the erroneous teachings of the church; in it he found the true constitution of the church, which in his controversial writings he set over against the abuses of the hierarchy, the "practice of prelates" which disgraced Christendom. But Tyndale held broad views of Scripture. In his thought the Bible was a progressive revelation, no part of which could be neglected by the Christian believer. In the lives of the patriarchs, the story of the exodus, the history of Israel, he saw innumerable parallels to the experiences of the believer and to the progress of the church; and these depended for their force, not on any allegorizing interpretation such as captivated many of the later reformers, but on a just appreciation of the true relation between sacred and modern history.¹ He deprecated all attempts to veil the historical sense of the Scripture in elaborate mystical metaphor. For him, as for Luther, the men of the Bible were real men, with real trials and defeats and victories from which the Christian might

be their Chaplaine at Antwerpe in Brabant, whome he serued to their good contentation many yeares. It chaunced him there to fal in company with that worthy seruant and Martyr of God, William Tindall, and with Miles Couerdale (which both for the hatred they bare to papish superstition and idolatry, and loue to true religion, had forsaken their native country). In conferring with them the scriptures, he came to great knowledge in the Gospell of God, in so much that he cast of the heauy yoke of Popery, perceiuyng it to be impure and filthy Idolatry, and ioyned himselfe with them two in that paynefull & most profitable labour of translating the Bible into the Englishe tongue, which is intituled: The Translation of Thomas Mathew."

¹ For his view of biblical allegories and their legitimate exposition, one of the pithiest passages in his writings, see the *Preface to Leviticus* (Mombert, p. 294).

learn as from other biography, with added force because of the relation of these ancient worthies to events supreme in their sacred significance. The marginal notes which so scandalized Sir Thomas More and Tyndale's other enemies, lacking, as they sometimes are, in good taste, as when he appends to the inspired text sarcastic flings at the Pope and the bishops, convey to the modern reader a sense of reality and candor.¹ Here was a man for whom the Bible was a living book, in vital touch with the affairs of distant ages, having its lessons for priest and plowman, king and subject, master and servant, saint and sinner. As contrasted with the older exegetes and with the post-Reformation reactionary school, Tyndale stands revealed to us as in many respects a modern of the moderns in his attitude toward the older Scriptures.

Holding such a view of the meaning of the law and the prophets of Israel, he certainly did not look upon his arduous task of translating the Old Testament as an irksome undertaking, to be got through with in the easiest way possible, merely to complete his version of the Bible. Rather did he regard this great undertaking as the crowning achievement of his life, and gave to it all the learning and enthusiasm with which he carried through the earlier works of his exile. When the news came to him at Vilvorde that his days were numbered, and he faced death with his task more than half undone, it must have been the bitterest disappointment to him to know that the matchless poetry of the Psalms, the pleadings and warnings and promises of the prophets, must be rendered by other hands than his. History has shown that his successors were capable of carrying on the work in the same large spirit with which he began it, falling naturally into the style which he originated; so that the English Old Testament, as we have it, shows no break, but is essentially a literary unit. But the fact that the men who gave us the English Psalms and Proverbs and Isaiah could doubtless have translated the historical books as well as Tyndale, had his version never been begun, should not lead us to belittle the worth of that beginning, nor to underrate its influence on the subsequent history of our Bible.

We shall inquire, first, under what circumstances Tyndale gained his knowledge of Hebrew; second, what sources he used in his version of the Pentateuch and to what extent his work was original; third, what influence his version exerted upon later translations and upon English literature. These are the three phases of the subject upon which there has been most controversy among those writers who have dealt with the matter at all, and upon which no agreement has been reached. The uncertainty which

¹ See Demaus, p. 238.

still prevails is due in part to scanty evidence, in part to preconceived theories.¹

It will be desirable, before considering the first question, to introduce an outline of Tyndale's life, to serve as a groundwork for chronological references. The sources are not abundant. Foxe's account in the *Acts and Monuments* is the basis of all the later narratives. While biographers accept large portions of it as authentic, they reject certain statements which conflict with other sources, with less hesitation because of Foxe's well-known inaccuracy in matters of historical data. To Foxe must be added the indirect evidence in the controversial works of Sir Thomas More directed against Tyndale, a voluminous correspondence preserved in the English state papers bearing upon the attempts first to apprehend Tyndale, and afterward to induce him to return to England as a tool of the ministry; and a few scanty but interesting hints in the Belgian state papers relating to the imprisonment and trial. Autobiographical references in Tyndale's own writings are the most important of all, but these are unfortunately too rare and ambiguous to give much assistance in correcting the romancing instinct of Foxe and filling the large gaps left by existing documents. The materials have been worked up in Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, Westcott's *History of the English Bible*, and similar works; but most elaborately and impartially in the standard biography by R. Demaus (London, 1871), which has not been superseded and is not likely to be. It is based upon a careful study of the sources, and is marked by judicious, but not intemperate, admiration of the great reformer. Mr. Demaus had access to many manuscript records not known to the earlier biographers, spent years in the unraveling of ingenious clues, and produced what will probably continue to be the authoritative life. For the study of Tyndale's New Testament in its historical and bibliographical phases there is a much larger body of literature, including bibliographical collations, facsimiles, reprints, etc. But for his life, particularly his work on the Old Testament, not much can be added to the list given above. The article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (Vol. LVII, p. 428) by Edward Irving Carlyle is longer than that in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* or other general works of reference, but contains no new material, and appears to be based chiefly on Demaus.

William Tyndale was born in Gloucestershire² between 1480 and 1490. The date 1484 assumed by Demaus rests upon general considera-

¹ On the subject of Tyndale's Hebrew Scholarship see Demaus, pp. 217, 233-37; Mombert, p. lxxxvi; *Athenæum*, 1885, pp. 500, 562, an unsigned review of Mombert's book. ² Foxe, "About the Borders of Wales" (p. 1075).

tions rather than upon direct evidence. Of his early life next to nothing is known. He was sent to Oxford, entered in Magdalen Hall perhaps about 1504, and spent some years in the university, winning the bachelor's and master's degrees. This was the period when the mediæval seclusion of Oxford was being invaded by disciples of the new learning from the continent, and Greek studies were enthusiastically prosecuted by the younger men. Grocyn and Linacre were teaching the classic Greek; Latimer and Colet lectured on the Greek Testament. The influence of Colet, particularly of his lectures on the Pauline epistles, must be regarded as fundamental in forming the opinions of young Tyndale. In 1510 Erasmus of Rotterdam began his five years of residence at the sister University of Cambridge, whither Tyndale went to continue his studies. Here he imbibed the bold and radical views of the great Dutch scholar, whose contempt for the obscurantist policy of the church led him into utterances that aroused the hostility of the authorities. Demaus suggests that Tyndale's great purpose of translating the Scriptures may have been incited, or at least strengthened, by the views of Erasmus as expressed in a famous passage of his works.

How long Tyndale remained at Cambridge is not certain. By 1521, if not earlier, he returned to his native county of Gloucester to serve as tutor and chaplain in the family of Sir John Walsh.¹ Even in this remote country parish his radical opinions excited controversy among the neighboring clergy, and he was rebuked by the chancellor of the diocese.² It was during the two years spent there that his plan of translating the New Testament took form. In this purpose he was not moved by the example of Luther; for Luther's translation did not appear until 1522, and Tyndale can hardly have known much of Luther's plans prior to this time. Rather was this great purpose based on a conviction that reformation of the church in England must come in large part through enlightenment of the common people, who could not read the Vulgate and were kept in ignorance by the clergy. It was in controversy with a learned man of the community, says Foxe, that Tyndale uttered his famous promise: "I defie the Pope and all his lawes: and further added, that if God spared hym life, ere many yeaeres he would cause a boy that driueth the plough to know more of the Scripture, then he did."³

In 1523 the young scholar, full of enthusiasm and hope, departed for London, where he expected to secure the patronage of the new bishop, Tunstal, a man known to be interested in the Greek studies of Erasmus

¹ Foxe spells the name Welche (p. 1075).

² Foxe, p. 1075.

³ Foxe, p. 1076.

and More. His reception was unfavorable. The bishop, whatever his academic sympathies may have been, was an uncompromising opponent of the Lutheran doctrines then spreading through England, and dismissed Tyndale without encouragement. Having failed to secure recognition for his project from the man who seemed the most likely ecclesiastic in England to afford such help, he saw that he must work henceforth independently and in secret. For some months he resided in London with a wealthy merchant, to whom he had been introduced by Latimer, Humphrey Monmouth. In Monmouth's household he found that sympathy which had been denied him at the episcopal palace, met many learned men, and made some progress in his studies. Having learned that he could not with safety issue his translation in his native land, he left London in May, 1524, for Germany. Henceforth he was an exile; and his great work for the English nation was wrought in a foreign land, aided by foreign scholars, recognized during his lifetime only by the faithful Monmouth and a small group of courageous Englishmen who were later numbered among the humbler leaders of the English Reformation.

Reaching Hamburg, he lost no time in journeying to the Saxon city of Wittenberg to see Luther.¹ He arrived at this Mecca of reformers at a somewhat inopportune time for personal intercourse with the apostle of German Protestantism. Luther was in the midst of the busiest period of his career, when the land was torn asunder with the struggle known as the Peasants' War, and with the political upheaval consequent upon the contest between Leo X and the German states. Luther had published his New Testament two years before, and was now issuing controversial pamphlets, preaching in the university church, and working on his Old Testament. Nothing is definitely known of the personal relations of the English visitor with his German colleague. Those who deny that Tyndale made any use of Luther's labors go so far as to reject altogether the statements of early writers as to this visit to Wittenberg, but without sufficient reason. Assuming that these contemporary accounts are correct, Tyndale must have enjoyed in the university town a measure of quiet and sympathy which enabled him to make rapid progress with his version of the New Testament. Hebrew and Greek had been taught in the university for years. Disciples of Johann Reuchlin, the father of German Hebraists, were to be found there, as well as Greek scholars and theologians. During the nine or ten months of his sojourn Tyndale

¹ Sir Thomas More, *Dialogue, Conjuration*; Cochläus, *Commentarii de actis et scriptis M. Lutheri*, p. 132; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1076. Demaus, pp. 94-97. *Contra*, Anderson, *Annals of the English Bible*, pp. 24 ff.

probably began his acquaintance with the Hebrew tongue, facilities for which were greater at Wittenberg than at Hamburg, Cologne, or Worms—cities where he spent the following years. For at Wittenberg he might have the assistance in his Hebrew studies of Christian scholars; while in the other cities he must depend chiefly or entirely upon Jewish instructors, many of whom were still suspicious of Christians desiring their aid.

With the help of his amanuensis, William Roye, an eccentric person who gave him more trouble than his work was worth, Tyndale translated the New Testament in less than a year. Believing it to be impolitic to have his work bear the imprint of a Wittenberg printer, and so expose it at the start to the censorship of German and English enemies, he removed to Cologne, after a trip to Hamburg to receive a remittance of funds from Monmouth. The printing of the book at Cologne was interrupted by the discovery of his project through the investigations of Cochläus, an agent of the church. With the sheets of the first part of the book, Tyndale and Roye hurried away in time to escape arrest, and resumed the enterprise in the safer refuge of the city of Worms, already a center of the Protestant movement. Here, from the press of Peter Schoeffer, was issued in 1526 the octavo Testament of Tyndale. The quarto sheets of the earlier portion brought from Cologne were also, it is believed, completed in that form, by Schoeffer or some other printer, and thus two editions were put into circulation. The only complete copies now in existence, however, are all of the octavo edition. Buschius states that six thousand copies of the Testament were printed at Worms,¹ and this has been supposed to include both editions. Of these six thousand only one incomplete quarto and two octavos are now extant.

Within a few months of its publication, Tyndale's anonymous translation reached England. In the spring of 1526 it was secretly circulated in large numbers. Coming soon to the notice of the authorities, it was condemned by Tunstal and others, at first without knowledge of its authorship, regarded simply as the work of the Lutherans, whose activity was becoming notorious. The burning of such copies as could be seized did not retard its circulation. An unauthorized reprint by Christopher of Endhoven at Antwerp² helped to swell the supply needed to meet the growing demand. Desperate attempts were made in England to buy up and destroy all copies that could be found. This brisk demand merely moved the Dutch printers to issue still another edition. Their two editions are said by George Joye to have numbered about five thousand copies. The

¹ Spalatinus' Diary in Schelhorn, *Amoenitates literariae*, IV, 231.

² Demaus, p. 157.

investigations set on foot by Tunstal and Wolsey finally succeeded in fixing the responsibility for the translation upon Tyndale and Roye. But Roye, already separated from his master because of his erratic habits, had been lost track of, and Tyndale managed for the time to elude the emissaries of the English prelates.

In 1527 he left Worms. Direct evidence of his residence for the next two years is lacking. For reasons of prudence he took care to keep his movements secret. It has been assumed, however, by biographers, from certain indications, that he made his home in the university town of Marburg, a center of Reformation influence second only to Wittenberg itself.¹ Here, in common with other reformers, he would enjoy the powerful protection of the Protestant Landgraf Philip of Hesse-Cassel, and the advantages of the new Protestant University of Marburg founded by that ruler. Here also there was a printing establishment less likely to be invaded by English spies than those at Cologne and Worms, conducted by Hans Luft.² Among his associates here was the learned Hermann Buschius, whom he had already met at Worms, and whose testimony to his learning is worthy of note.³ Another illustrious man whom Tyndale probably met at Marburg was the Scottish protomartyr Patrick Hamilton, who spent a few months there in 1527 with three companions.

In the following spring, May 8, 1528, Tyndale issued from the press of Hans Luft his *Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, a work on the Reformation doctrine of justification by faith, and *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, treating of the duties of a Christian citizen in his religious, family, social, and civic relations. Of the contents of these important works, and their bearing upon the English Reformation, this is not the place to speak.

During 1529 the attacks on Tyndale from English sources increased in violence. In particular the pamphlet campaign of Sir Thomas More against him began; a controversy which was renewed several years later and led to some of Tyndale's ablest polemic writings. During that year Tyndale visited Antwerp, presumably in connection with arrangements for promoting the exportation of his New Testament and other works. It happened that More and Tunstal were then on the continent assisting in the negotiation of the Treaty of Cambray; and Tunstal went

¹ Demaus, chap. vii.

² Dr. Mombert attempts to show that "Malborow in the land of Hesse" is not Marburg, but a pseudonym for Wittenberg. He presents arguments tending to show that Hans Luft was never in Marburg. See his preface, p. xxix. Cf., *contra*, *Atheism*, 1885, pp. 500 ff.

³ P. 22.

to Antwerp in the hope of seizing some of Tyndale's Testaments. As in the former case, the purchase of a large supply for confiscation was easily effected, but the publication of further editions was thereby made possible. There is uncertainty as to Tyndale's movements during 1529. Foxe relates¹ that the translator sailed from Antwerp for Hamburg, was wrecked, with the loss of all his books and manuscripts, reached Hamburg by another ship, and spent some months there, from Easter to December, translating, with Coverdale's aid, the entire Pentateuch. The reference to Coverdale is not accepted as very important by biographers, as Coverdale could hardly have aided Tyndale in the actual task of translation, being at that time but slightly acquainted with Hebrew. The entire incident is believed by Demaus² to be confused or misdated, as it conflicts with the Antwerp anecdote about Tunstal, which is placed in the late summer of 1529. Demaus thinks it probable that, instead of going to Hamburg at this time, Tyndale returned to Marburg; and, if so, may have been present at the famous debate between Luther and Zwingli upon the eucharist, which led to the final separation between the German and the Swiss reformers.

Whether the work of translating the Pentateuch was accomplished at Hamburg or at Marburg, it was completed by the latter part of 1529; for the Genesis bears the imprint of Hans Luft, the Marburg printer, under date of January 17, 1530. The Pentateuch was not printed as a whole, but the several books appear to have been issued at brief intervals, perhaps in two groups, which were bound together. Genesis and Numbers are in black-letter; Exodus, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy, in roman type. No satisfactory explanation has been given of this diversity of type. Some have supposed that the three books in roman were published in some other city, but Demaus finds that all five books have the same form, the same style of ornamental title-pages, and the same paper. Each book has an introduction, marginal notes, and a glossary of Hebrew words and proper names containing the etymology of these terms as understood by the translator.

Having seen his Pentateuch safely through the press, Tyndale entered upon the most important of his controversial works, *The Practice of Prelates*. This was an attack upon the hierarchy, particularly the Pope and the English bishops, in which their excesses and extortions were satirically compared with the simplicity of the New Testament church polity. Wolsey came in for special denunciation for his selfish ambition, not alone from

¹ *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1077.

² P. 229.

the point of view of an ecclesiastical reformer, but considered from Tyndale's position as a patriot and still loyal supporter of the king.

The attacks of Sir Thomas More upon Tyndale were instigated by Tunstal, who wrote to him March 7, 1528,¹ requesting that he undertake the defense of the Catholic faith against Lutheran heretics. More was the most learned man in England, a Greek scholar, friend of Erasmus and Colet, author of *Utopia*, a defender hitherto of liberal principles in religion and government. The singular contrast between his previous career and the bitterness and narrowness displayed by him toward his exiled fellow-countryman, Tyndale, is one of the puzzles of literary history. The first volume of this controversy, *A Dialogue of Sir Thomas More, Knight . . . wherein he treated divers matters . . . with many other things touching the pestilent sect of Luther and Tyndale*, appeared in June, 1529, just before More left for Cambray. Tyndale worked on his reply during 1530 and published it at Amsterdam in 1531. More answered in 1532 with his *Confutation*, following this up with passages in the *Debellation of Salem and Byzance*, the *Apology*, and the *Answer to the Poisoned Book*. Much of More's bitterness was due to Tyndale's mistaken charge that the lord chancellor had been moved by mercenary motives in undertaking the task of defending the church against the reformers. The subject-matter of the volumes on both sides covers the whole field of the Reformation dogmas, the alleged abuses of the church, and the merits and defects of Tyndale's version. Notwithstanding More's superior learning in general history and politics, and the great advantage he possessed because of his official position and his intimate acquaintance with the rapidly changing internal affairs of England, he was unquestionably worsted in the argument. In his later works he shows that he himself felt this, and from urbane controversy he descends to vulgar and malicious abuse.

Tyndale in his *Obedience of a Christian Man* had laid down principles in regard to the supremacy of the state over the church in all civil affairs which now became popular in court circles at home. For Wolsey had been superseded by Thomas Cromwell, and it was Cromwell's plan to assert the rights of the king against the claims of the Pope. This new premier, only superficially acquainted with Tyndale's writings, believed that a pamphleteer so acute and eloquent might render valuable service in this campaign. He therefore, without full consultation with the king, directed the envoy at Antwerp, Stephen Vaughan, to ascertain on what terms Tyndale would return to England. It appears that this was not a scheme to entrap Tyndale and then put him out of the way, but a genuine

¹ Wilkins, *Concilia*, III, 711; Demaus, p. 263.

attempt to bring him back as an ally in the new policy inaugurated by Cromwell. Vaughan, after some correspondence with Tyndale, had three interviews with him at Antwerp during the early months of 1531, and was completely won over by the evident sincerity and power of the supposed heretic. He could not, however, persuade the exile to risk his liberty and his life by setting foot in England, where More and Tunstal were still breathing out slaughter against him. Meantime Tyndale's *Practice of Prelates* having come to the notice of Cromwell and of his royal master, the situation suddenly changed. *The Obedience of a Christian Man* was a pleasing book in a king's ears. *The Practice of Prelates* was rank heresy and treason. Cromwell, by Henry's command, made Vaughan cease his efforts to enlist Tyndale in the king's service. Before long Vaughan was superseded at Antwerp by a man of another stamp, Sir Thomas Elyot, and the attitude toward Tyndale became one of hostility. But for a time the exile evaded his enemies.

During that year, 1531, he translated and published a translation of the book of Jonah, with a prologue. Subsequently he suspended his translation work in order to enter upon the task of expounding the Scripture. In 1531 appeared his exposition of the First Epistle of John. In 1532, after he had left Antwerp, and while he was roaming from one German city to another, an exposition of the Sermon on the Mount was published. This was to some extent based on Luther's homilies on the same portion of Scripture, but was nevertheless an original work. In 1533 there was published anonymously at Nuremberg a treatise entitled *The Supper of the Lord . . . wherein incidentally More's letter against John Fryth is confuted*. This is attributed to Tyndale; it is an exposition of the sixth chapter of John. Written to defend Tyndale's friend John Fryth, now under arrest in England, it was without avail. Fryth, who had been with Tyndale on the continent much of the time since 1528, and was his closest companion, was tried, condemned, and suffered martyrdom July 4, 1533.

The vigor of the pursuit of Tyndale having now temporarily abated, he settled again in Antwerp, and spent about two years there quietly, busy with the revision of the Pentateuch and the New Testament. New editions of both were issued in 1534. In the revised edition of the Pentateuch the textual changes were confined to the book of Genesis.¹ Some alterations were made in the glossaries and prologues. The revision of the New Testament was radical and extensive. Prologues and marginal notes were also added. This revised edition was preceded by an unauthorized and garbled edition of the Testament by Tyndale's former friend,

¹ See a collation of these alterations in Mombert, p. ciii.

George Joye, who introduced a few changes for doctrinal reasons, and sought a scholar's credit for a piece of literary piracy. It led to a bitter controversy between him and Tyndale. Early in 1535 Tyndale had a second revision ready for the press, but was arrested before its publication.

The plot by which the great translator fell into the hands of his enemies was not instigated by King Henry nor by the dominant party in England, now by no means ill disposed toward him. It was rather the work of the Catholic reactionaries, foiled in their attempt to prevent Henry's breach with Rome, and furious against Tyndale as one of the leaders in the Protestant movement, as he was also the most defenseless. Betrayed through the treachery of a supposed friend, Henry Philips, he was arrested in the streets of Antwerp by the officers of the Emperor Charles V, and imprisoned in the castle of Vilvorde, eighteen miles away. The date of his arrest is fixed by a document still in the archives at Brussels at about May 23, 1535.

Efforts were made to save him from the heretic's fate. His friend Thomas Poyntz, at whose house he had resided for a year, risked his own life in the vain attempt to change the determination of the authorities. Cromwell, when appealed to, used some pressure to obtain the same end, but failed. The trial, before a special commission, occupied several months in 1536. Tyndale answered the elaborate charges of his prosecutors with ability and eloquence, but the conclusion was foregone. In mid-summer sentence of death was passed upon him. During his prison life he pursued his studies so far as he was able. A Latin letter written by him to the governor of the prison, requesting warmer clothing, candles, and the use of his Hebrew books, is still extant. On October 6, 1536, he suffered martyrdom at Vilvorde, being first strangled and then burned.¹

Having before us this outline of Tyndale's life, the first question bearing upon the subject of this paper is: Where and how did he learn Hebrew?

The answer to this question must be wholly inferential. Tyndale, so far as can be judged from the history of his early life, knew nothing of Hebrew when he left England in May, 1524. He was to some extent acquainted with Hebrew before writing *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon* and *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, published in the spring of 1528. He translated the Pentateuch in 1529. This fixes the period of his first Hebrew studies upon which his translation was based between 1524 and 1528.

¹ Foxe tells, in much detail, the story of the arrest, imprisonment, and efforts to save Tyndale's life (pp. 1077-79).

Between his arrival in Germany in 1524 and his arrest in 1535, Tyndale spent his time in the following cities, so far as can be discovered or surmised:

Hamburg:	May, 1524
Wittenberg:	May, 1524-April, 1525
Hamburg:	April, 1525
Cologne:	April-September, 1525
Worms:	October, 1525-. . . (?) 1527
Marburg(?):	. . . 1527-August, 1529
Antwerp:	August, 1529
Hamburg(?):	. . . 1529
Marburg:	December, 1529-. . . 1530
Antwerp:	1531-1535

Since his stay at Hamburg in May, 1524, and again in April, 1525, was brief, and the period of not more than five months spent at Cologne was occupied with the printing of the unfinished quarto New Testament, Tyndale learned his Hebrew in Wittenberg, Worms, and Marburg. Inasmuch as the early months of his stay at Wittenberg must have been chiefly occupied with the translation of the New Testament, not to mention the acquisition of the German language, we may probably place the earliest date of his Hebrew studies in the beginning of 1525; and inasmuch as the translation of the Pentateuch must have occupied the most of 1529, the study of the language preparatory to that task can hardly have continued much beyond 1528. This leaves four years during which Tyndale may have labored steadily or at intervals upon the Hebrew grammar and Scriptures. But there is evidence that by the second year of this period he had already made much progress in the language. Herman Buschius, one of the group of German Humanists which included Reuchlin, Erasmus, Ulrich von Hutten, and other leaders in the revival of learning, met Tyndale at Worms before August 11, 1526, and told Spalatin that the Englishman who translated the New Testament was "so skilled in seven languages, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, English, French, that whichever he spoke you would suppose it his native tongue."¹ We must allow for some exaggeration in this statement, since it is highly improbable that Tyndale could actually converse with any fluency in Hebrew, and unlikely that he had much fluency in the Italian and Spanish. But the words of Buschius, recorded by a disinterested third person, certainly show that Tyndale had made more than a beginning in Hebrew when he had been in Worms only about nine months. We are led therefore to assume a period of elementary study at Wittenberg during the latter months of his

¹ Diary of Spalatinus, printed in Schelhorn, *Amoenitates literariae*, IV, 431.

stay there (January-April, 1525); a partial interruption, possibly, during the busy period of getting the New Testament to press at Cologne and Worms (April-December, 1525); a renewed study, under Jewish guidance, at Worms during 1526 and part of the following year; and a further period of study in a university atmosphere with scholarly associates at Marburg, 1527-29.

It will now be necessary to examine the evidence for the theory above outlined as to the time and places of Tyndale's Hebrew studies. That he knew no Hebrew when he left England in May, 1524, is to be inferred from three considerations. First, Hebrew was not taught at Oxford or Cambridge prior to that time. Second, in the absence of Christian teachers at the universities, Tyndale, so far as we can judge, had no opportunity of learning from Jewish instructors during his sojourn in London (1523-24). There is no evidence that any impulse had yet reached England from the enthusiastic campaign of Hebrew study in Germany started by the Pfefferkorn-Reuchlin controversy. Third, there is no evidence that copies of the *Rudimenta Linguae Hebraicae* of Reuchlin (1506) or other grammatical manuals had reached England during Tyndale's residence at the universities. So we conclude, in the absence of any proof or contemporary hint to the contrary, that neither from Christians, Jews, nor books did Tyndale learn anything of Hebrew in England.

Evidence of the progress of Tyndale's Hebrew studies, in addition to the testimony of Buschius in the summer of 1526, is found in the two doctrinal treatises published in the spring of 1528, *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon* and *The Obedience of a Christian Man*.

In *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon* appears this remark on the word "Mammon":

First, Mammon is a Hebrew word and signifieth riches or temporal goods, namely all superfluity, and all that is above necessity and that which is required unto our necessary uses wherewith a man may help another without undoing or hurting himself: for *hamon* in the Hebrew speech, signifies a multitude or abundance of money, and therehence cometh *mahamon* or *mammon*, abundance or plenteousness of goods or riches.¹

In *The Obedience of a Christian Man* is this comment on the Hebrew idiom:

St. Jerome also translated the Bible into the mother tongue, why may not we also? They will say it cannot be translated into our tongue, it is so rude. It is not so rude as they are false liars. For the Greek tongue agreeth more with the English than with the Latin. And the properties of the Hebrew tongue

¹ *The Fathers of the English Church*, Vol. I, p. 103.

agreeth a thousand times more with the English than with the Latin. The manner of speaking is both one, so that in a thousand places thou needest not but to translate it into the English word for word, when thou must seek a compass in the Latin.[†]

With reference to the places where Tyndale learned Hebrew and the sources of his knowledge many inferential conclusions can be drawn from the well-known history of the Talmud controversy which ushered in the Reformation.

Johann Reuchlin was the first German Christian to study Hebrew. Born at Pforzheim in 1455, educated in Greek at Paris and Basel, he became a teacher of the classics, though also practicing the profession of law. In middle life, after a brilliant career in diplomatic service, he began the serious study of Hebrew with Loans, the Jewish physician to the emperor Frederick III. In 1498 at Rome he continued these studies with another learned Jew, Obadiah Sforno. Returning to Germany, he began to teach the language to the many eager humanists at Heidelberg, Stuttgart, and other cities where the Greek learning was already cultivated. In 1506 he issued his *Rudimenta Linguae Hebraicae*, the first Hebrew grammar in a European language for the use of Christians, if we except the brief and imperfect sketch published in 1503 by Conrad Pellicanus, who had learned something of the language by working over Hebrew manuscripts almost without instruction. In 1512 Reuchlin issued the Hebrew text of the penitential Psalms with grammatical notes. He was regarded as the most learned Hebraist in Germany, though during the first decade of the century numerous competent scholars had followed his example and studied the language under the guidance of learned Jews in Germany, Italy, and France.

When therefore in 1509 an attack on the Jews and confiscation of their books were planned by certain of the Dominican monks of Cologne, led by John Pfefferkorn, it was to Reuchlin that the emperor, Maximilian, referred this subject to investigate and report. His reply, defending the Jewish books against the charge of insulting Christianity, angered his enemies beyond measure. A controversy ensued which lasted for six years, and ultimately involved all the representative men of Germany on one side or the other; the Humanists siding with Reuchlin in defense of the Jews, the ecclesiastics and many of the university faculties against him. Though Reuchlin escaped condemnation in the proceedings brought against him for his refusal to recant, he suffered much abuse and material

[†] *Doctrinal Treatises and Introductions to Different Portions of the Holy Scriptures* (Parker Society edition, 1848), p. 148.

losses for his stand. It was the indignation aroused among the liberals by the bigotry displayed in this controversy, together with the satires of the *Encomium Moriae* and the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*, which prepared the way for the Lutheran Reformation.

The bearing of this Reuchlin-Pfefferkorn controversy upon the general introduction of Hebrew instruction into German universities is obvious. When the young Humanists, hitherto content with the newly discovered riches of the Greek classics, found themselves forbidden by the obscurantist party in the church to read the dangerous Jewish works or to attempt to study the Old Testament in the original, that was the very thing they were the most eager to do. Accordingly, the natural course of events was hastened; the Hebrew instruction, which under normal conditions might have taken a generation to spread through the universities, and become popular, sprang at once into a place second only to Greek. The demand for teachers sent many men to Reuchlin, Sebastian Münster, Pellicanus, and the other pioneers, for grounding in the hitherto despised language. Textbooks were issued in rapid succession.¹

Thus, when Tyndale reached Germany, Hebrew was no longer a novelty in the centers of learning. Reuchlin was dead, but his younger associates and pupils were fairly well equipped to carry on his work.

¹ The following list of Hebrew textbooks published from 1500 to 1530 is given in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*. Many of these ran through several editions.

- 1504. Pellicanus, Conrad. *De modo legendi et intelligendi Hebraeum* (Strasburg).
- 1506. Reuchlin, Johann. *Rudimenta Linguae Hebraicae una cum Lexico* (Pforzheim).
- 1508. Tissardus, Franciscus. *Grammatica Hebraica et Graeca* (Paris).
- 1513-1521. Guidaccerius, Agathius. *Institutiones Graecae Hebraicae* (Rome).
- 1516. Capito, W. F. *Institutiuncula in Hebraicam Linguam* (Basel).
- 1518. Boeschenstein, John. *Hebraicae Grammaticae Institutiones* (Wittenberg).
- 1502. Münster, Sebastian. *Epitome Hebraicae Grammaticae* (Basel).
- 1520. Pagninus, Sanct. *Institutiones Hebraicae* (Lyons).
- 1522. Anonymous. *Rudimenta Hebraicae Grammaticae* (Basel).
- 1524. Münster, Sebastian. *Institutiones Grammaticae in Hebraicam Linguam* (Basel).
- 1525. Aurigallus, Matthew. *Compendium Hebraicae Chaldaeeque Grammaticae* (Wittenberg).
- 1526. Zamorensis, Alphonsus. *Introductiones Artis Grammaticae Hebraicae* (Complutum).
- 1528. Van Campen, John. *Ex Variis Libellis Eliae . . . quidquid ad Graecam Hebraicam est necessarium* (Louvain).
- 1528. Fabricius, Theodorus. *Institutiones Linguae Sanctae* (Cologne).
- 1528. Pagninus, Sanct. *Institutionum Hebraicarum Abbreuiatio* (Lyons).
- 1520. Clendardus, Nicolas. *Tabulae in Graecam Hebraicam* (Louvain).
- 1530. Sebastianus, Augustus. *Grammatica Linguae Ebraae* (Marburg).

Chairs of Hebrew existed at Heidelberg, Wittenberg,¹ and perhaps at others of the universities, while one was established at the new University of Marburg about the time of Tyndale's arrival there.

When Tyndale, in the year 1529, set about the work of translating the Pentateuch, his equipment for the task was by no means meager. He had, first of all, acquired facility in the difficult art of translation by his New Testament. In that task he had chosen the style which seemed best fitted for rendering the Scriptures—a style so simple in its structure, so close to the paratactic quality of Hellenic Greek, that it is well-nigh transparent. The reader imagines he is reading the one inevitable, obvious sentence which alone could render the original into English; and not until it is compared with the painful artificialities of modern attempts to translate the New Testament into contemporary speech, not until the scholar compares Tyndale's Testament with the current English of the early Tudor period, is the full significance of this first modern version perceived. Those who are never content to leave a writer more than the merest vestige of originality point to Wiclif's version, and seek by parallel columns to demonstrate Tyndale's heavy indebtedness of Wiclif. It is not to be denied that manuscript copies of Wiclif's Testament circulated freely as late as the latter half of the fifteenth century, and that Tyndale was, of course, familiar with it. Neither can it be denied that in the choice of words, notwithstanding the obsolete diction of the earlier translator, Tyndale was often content to adopt phrases that commended themselves to him. No friend of Tyndale needs to exalt him by depreciating Wiclif. But Tyndale expressly declares that he was not dependent on his predecessor, making his own translation throughout rather than revising the old.²

On the question of Tyndale's English style as a translator we have fortunately a considerable basis for comparison in his voluminous doctrinal, controversial, and expository works. As might be expected, in these writings the sentences are longer, the rhetorical balance more elaborate; but both in invective and in exhortation, in the biting epigram and the eloquent homily, we find evidence of that genius for cadences and rhythmic flow of syllables which marks our English Bible above all other works of English prose. The only writers of his age in whom we find this style

¹ Among the Hebraists in Luther's circle at Wittenberg were Matthæus Aurogallus, Johann Forster, Bernhard Ziegler, and George Rörer. See Buchwald, *Doktor Martin Luther*, p. 321.

² "I had no man to counterfeit, neither was helped with English of any that had interpreted the same or such like another in the Scripture beforetime" ("Epistle to the Reader," subjoined to the New Testament).

developed, with its nice balance of the Latin and Anglo-Saxon words and syntax, are Latimer, in his sermons, for the short sentence and pithy phrase, and Cranmer, translator of the larger part of the *Prayer Book* for the rhythms. It was not the common style of learned men in the reign of Henry VIII. Sir Thomas More shows few traces of it. He writes a Latinized English without flexibility and without melody. The English version of the *Utopia* is, of course, not by More at all, but by one Ralph Robinson, and belongs to the following generation.

This style of Tyndale's, which set the fashion for Coverdale and all his successors, owes not a little of its charm to the fact that it was shaped in its phrasing by the loose syntactical structure of the Greek Testament. It is to be noted that among the numerous translations of the Early Tudor period those from the French—for example, Lord Berners' version of Froissart—most nearly approach this style of Tyndale's; and for the obvious reason that the translator in each case happened to be too good a scholar to paraphrase in Latinized periods a narrative told in short words and co-ordinate clauses. We have but to compare Tyndale at his worst—that is, in his most vehement tirades against More—with the typical pamphlets and formal correspondence of Henry's reign, to feel instantly the individuality of the man and his feeling for the new English prose that had so lately come into being.

If this was the first and one of the most important of Tyndale's qualifications, when he undertook the translation of the Pentateuch, a second was his Hebrew studies, already referred to. The apparatus at his command can be estimated with some approach to probability.

For Hebrew grammar he had at his command the considerable number of textbooks enumerated above, of which those by Reuchlin (1506), Münster (1520), and the two published at Wittenberg by the leading Hebraists there, Boeschenstein (1518) and Aurigallus (1525), were probably his chief authorities, since they would naturally be the most accessible.

For lexicons he had the vocabulary accompanying Reuchlin's *Rudimenta* (1506), Sebastian Münster's *Lexicon hebraicum chaldaicum* (Basel, 1508, 1523), and perhaps Pagninus' *Thesaurus linguae sanctae sive lexicon hebraicum* (Lyons, 1529).

For the Hebrew text there was no want of printed editions. At least five had been printed in Italy and Spain since 1488, the most popular of which was that of Bomberg, published at Venice in 1517. This included the Targum of Onkelos on the Pentateuch, of which Tyndale is supposed by some editors to have made occasional use.

For the Vulgate there were, of course, many printed editions. Of the

Septuagint, editions were to be found in the *Complutensian Polyglot* (1514), the Aldine edition (1518), and the Strasburg edition of 1526.

Luther's translation of the five books of Moses, the first part of his Old Testament, appeared in 1523, and was of course constantly before Tyndale in his work.

The question arises whether Tyndale had with him in Germany a manuscript of the Wiclifite Old Testament by Nicholas de Hereford or its revision by John Purvey, or whether such resemblances as can be traced between these early versions and his are either accidental or due to recollections of a version familiar to him in his youth. These resemblances are much less numerous than in the New Testament, where there is no possible doubt that Tyndale used Wiclif's work. If Foxe's story of the shipwreck on the voyage to Hamburg in 1529 be accepted,¹ we must conclude that any such manuscript of either of the fourteenth-century Old Testament versions, even if Tyndale originally had one and used it in his first draft of Deuteronomy, was lost in that disaster; and it does not seem likely that it could be promptly replaced by friends in England in time to be used in the work on the Pentateuch.

We come now to the central problem of this inquiry: To what extent did Tyndale use the Hebrew in his Pentateuch?

This question is to be decided only by a comparison of his version with the original, with the Vulgate, with Luther's version, and with Hereford's and Purvey's. It is not so easy of settlement as prejudiced writers on either side have attempted to prove. If his authorship of the books from Joshua to Chronicles in Rogers' and Coverdale's Bibles could be assumed, we should have a larger basis for induction. The Pentateuch consists so largely of straightforward narrative, in which alternative renderings of the Masoretic text are seldom possible; it has so few obscurities as compared with the poetical and prophetic books, that we may diligently compare many chapters in Tyndale, Luther, and the Vulgate, as the present writer has done, without being able to find a single datum for our inquiry. On the other hand, there are in the Pentateuch certain well-known difficulties, due either to rare words, poetic diction, or a corrupt text, which afford a more promising field for such study.

It would be manifestly impracticable to present here in parallel columns the several versions of the entire Pentateuch, or of an entire book. Four-fifths of such material would yield negative results. The method chosen, after a comparison of the entire Pentateuch in the manner indicated, is to select such chapters as offer tangible evidence upon one side or the other—

¹ *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1077.

Tyndale's originality on the one hand, his dependence on the Vulgate and Luther on the other hand. Words and phrases presenting variations deemed significant for one reason or another are quoted, with their equivalents in the Hebrew, the Septuagint, the Vulgate, the two Wicliffe versions, and Luther's version. The first chapter of Genesis is given entire, as a fair specimen of straight narrative prose, and the number and character of data for our inquiry to be found in such prose. Isolated passages from Genesis present further typical examples. From the three considerable poetic pieces in the Pentateuch, Genesis, chap. 49, Deuteronomy, chaps. 32 and 33, are taken such passages as show facts bearing on the discussion; affording, by reason of their difficulties, more numerous tangible instances of dependence or independence than any other portion of the material.

For the Hebrew the Masoretic text is given; for the Septuagint, Swete's text;¹ for the Vulgate, the standard Vatican edition, from a copy printed at Frankfort in 1829 collated with a Venetian edition of 1478 (Newberry Library); for Hereford and Purvey, the edition of the Wiclif Bible by Forshall and Madden (Oxford, 1850); for Luther, a Bible printed at Frankfort in 1583, now in the Newberry Library; for Tyndale, the critical reprint edited by Dr. J. I. Mombert (New York, 1884), the only reprint ever made of Tyndale's Pentateuch. Dr. Mombert's work was conducted with every precaution to insure literal accuracy of reproduction, and is to be depended on so far as the text is concerned. His introduction contains a large amount of bibliographical and other information, together with certain conclusions as to the unsettled historical questions of Tyndale's life, which are at some points in conflict with other authorities. He has also taken the singular course of appending to the text of the Pentateuch, in the form of footnotes, glosses selected from Luther's version and the Rogers Bible of 1537, which at times are confusing to the student. The book was unfavorably reviewed in the *Athenæum* (1885, Vol. I, pp. 500, 562). The reviewer points out many alleged errors in Mombert's bibliographical statements, and ridicules his theory that the Pentateuch was really printed at Wittenberg instead of Marburg. He does not, however, criticise in any respect the fidelity of the reprint of the text of the Pentateuch, with which we are here concerned.

¹ The Hebrew and Greek have been collated with the texts in Walton's *Polyglot* (1657), no copy of the *Complutensian Polyglot* first edition being available. No variations from the modern text were found in the passages herein quoted.

Gen. 1:1	HEBREW Heb.	LXX	VULGATE V	HEREFORD H	PURVEY P	LUTHER L	TYNDALE T	REMARKS
	בראשית ברא אלהים את השמים והא ארץ:	Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἔσθυσεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.	In principio creavit Deus caelum, et terram.	In the firste made God of nougt heuene and erthe.	In the begynnynge God made of nougt heuene and erthe.	Am Anfang schuff Gott Himmel und Erden.	In the begynnynge God created heaven and erth.	Omits definite arti- cle following V H P L against Heb. LXX.
2	והארץ היתה הוה רבב החשך על-פני המים והח אלהים מרחב אלהים המים:	ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἄσπετος καὶ ἀκατασκευά- στος, καὶ σκότος ἦν αὐτῇ τῆς ἀβυσ- σου καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἔπλετο ἐν τῷ ἐνώμα τοῦ ὕδατος.	Terra autem erat inanis et vacua, et tenebrae erant su- per faciem abyssi: et Spiritus Dei ferebatur super aquas.	The erthe forsothe was veyn with ynne and void, and derknessis weren vpon the face of the see; and the Spryt of God was born vpon the watrys.	Forsothe the erthe was idel and voide, and derknessis weren on the face of depthe; and the Spryt of the Lord was boron on the watris.	Und die Erde war wüst und lör und es war finster auff der Tiefe und der Geist Gottes schwebt auff dem Wasser.	The erth was voyde and empie, and darknesse was vpon the depe, and the spirite of god moved vpon the water.	Follows LXX & L in omitting the idiomatic Hebrew פני Follows L against LXX V H P.
3	והאמר אלהים יהי רור והאמר אלהים יהי רור והאמר אלהים יהי רור	καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς Τε- νέτω φῶς· καὶ ἔγε- νητο φῶς.	Dixitque Deus: Fiat lux. Et facta est lux.	And God seide, Be maad ligh: and maad is ligh.	And God seide, Ligh be maad, and ligh was maad.	Und Gott sprach: Es werde lecht. Und es ward lecht.	Than God sayd: let there be lyghte and there was lyghte.	
4	והאמר אלהים יהי רור והאמר אלהים יהי רור והאמר אלהים יהי רור	Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ φῶς ὅτι καλόν· καὶ δέχθησαν ὁ θεὸς ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ φω- τός καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σκότους.	Et vidit Deus lucem quod esset bona; et divisit lucem a tenebris.	And God sawe ligh, that it was good, and deuydid ligh fro derknessis.	And God seig the ligh, that it was good, and he de- partide the ligh fro derknessis;	Und Gott sahe daz das Liecht gut war. Da schei- det Gott das Liecht vom finsternisz.	And God sawe the lyghte that it was good: & deuyded the lyghte from the darknesse	
5	והאמר אלהים יהי רור והאמר אלהים יהי רור והאמר אלהים יהי רור	καὶ ἐλάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ φῶς ἡμέραν, καὶ τὸ σκότος ἐλάλεσεν νύκτα· καὶ ἔγένετο ἡμέρα καὶ ἔγενετο πρωί, ἡμέρα μία.	Appellavitque lucem Diem et tenebras Noctem, factum- que est vespere et mane, dies unus.	And clepide ligh, day, and derknessis, nygt. And maad is euen and moru, o day.	And he clepide the ligh, dat, and the derknessis, nygt. And the euentid and morweid was maad, o daie.	Und nennet das Liecht Tag und die Finsternisz Nacht. Da ward ausz abend und morgen der erste Tag.	And called the lyghte daye, and the darknesse nyghte: and so of the evenyng and mornynge was made the fyrst daye.	Follows V and L in the inaccurate ren- dering of Hebrew.

Gen. 1:6	HEB.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יְהִי רָקִיעַ בְּתוֹךְ הַמַּיִם וְיִהְיֶה מַבְדִּיל בֵּין מַיִם לְמַיִם:	καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς Γενή- σθω στερέωμα ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ὕδατος, καὶ ἔστω διαχωρί- σθον ἀνά μέσον ὕδα- τος καὶ ὕδατος· καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως.	Dixit quoque Deus: Fiat firmamentum in medio aquarum, et dividat aquas ab aquis.	Seide forsothe God, Be maad a firma- ment in the myddel of watres, and dyuyde it watres fro watrys.	And God seide, The firmament be maad in the myddis of watris, and depar- te watris fro watris.	And God made the firmament, and de- partide the watris that weren vndur the firmament fro these watris that weren on the fir- mament; and it was don so.	Und Gott sprach: Es werde ein Feste zwischen den was- sern und die sey ein unterscheid zwischen den was- sern.	And God sayd: let there be a fyr- mament betwene the waters, and let it devyde the waters a sonder.	Firmament from V H P. Follows L against Heb. LXX V H P. Idiomat instead of literal rendering, independent.
וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הָרָקִיעַ אֲשֶׁר בֵּין הַמַּיִם לְמַיִם:	καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ στερέωμα· καὶ διέχωρισεν ὁ θεὸς ἀνά μέσον τοῦ ὕδα- τος ὃ ἦν ὑποκάτω τοῦ στερέματος, καὶ ἀνά μέσον τοῦ ὕδατος τοῦ ἐπάνω τοῦ στερέματος.	Et fecit Deus firma- mentum, divisitque aquas quae erant sub firmamento, ab his, quae erant super firmamen- tum. Et factum est ita.	And God made the firmament, and dyuydid watris that weren vndre the firmament fro thes that weren about the firma- ment; and it is maad so.	And God clepide the firmament, heuene. And maad is euen and moru, the seconde day.	And God clepide the firmament heuene. And the euentid and morwetid was maad, the secounde day.	Da machet Gott die Feste und scheidet das wasser un- ter der Festen von dem wasser uber der Festen. Und es geschah also.	And God called the firmament: And it was so. And God called the firmament heauen, And so of the even- yng and morninge was made the seconde daye.	Cf. vs. 5.
וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הָאָרֶץ וְהַיָּם:	καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ στερέωμα οὐρα- νόν· καὶ ἰδεν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι καλόν· καὶ ἐγένε- το ἑσπέρα καὶ ἐγένετο πρωΐ, ἡμέ- ρα δευτέρα.	Vocauitque Deus fir- mamentum. Cae- lum; et factum est vespere et mane, dies secundus.	God forsothe seide, Gadrid be watris, the whiche ben vndre heuene, in to o place, and apere the drie; and maad it is so.	Forsothe God seide, The watris, that ben vndur heuene, be gadrid in to o place, and a drie place apere; and it was doon so.	And God seide, samle sich das was- ser unter dem Him- mel an sondere örter dasz mar- das trocken sehe. Und es geschah also.	And God sayd, let the waters that are vnder heauen gather them selves vnto one place, ¹ that ² the drie londe may appere. And it came so to passe.	¹ Follows Heb. LXX V H P against L's loose rendering. ² Follows L as often in correct render- ing of 7 against LXX V H P.	

Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
Gen. 1:13 יהי ערב ויהי בקר יום שלישי; יום ראשון	καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα καὶ ἔγένετο πρωί, ἡμέρα τρίτη.	Et factum est vespere et mane, dies tertius.	And maad is euen and moru, the thrid day.	And the euenitid and morwetid was maad, the thriddle dai.	Da ward ausz abend und morgen der dritte Tag.	then of the evenyng and mornynge was made the thyrd day.	
14 יהי מארח בבקר השמים במבול בין הים ויבין הקלה הדין הלכות למיתות העמים ושנים; למיתות	Καὶ ἔτινος ὁ θεὸς ἑνὸς ὄψεως φωστῆρας ἐν τῷ στερωματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς φαεινὸν τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἄρχεν τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τῆς νυκτός καὶ διαχωρίζουσιν ἀλλήλων τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν νύκτα ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς νυκτός· καὶ ἔστωσαν εἰς σημεῖα καὶ εἰς καιροὺς καὶ εἰς ἡμέρας καὶ εἰς ἐνιαυτοὺς.	Dixit autem Deus: Fiant luminaria in firmamento caeli, et dividant diem ac noctem, et sint in signa et tempora, et dies et annos;	God forsothe seide, Be ther maad light gyvers in the firmament of heuene, and deudey the dai and nygt; and be thei into signes, and tymes, and dales, and geers;	Forsothe God seide, Lightis be maad in the firmament of heuene, and deupart the dai and nygt; and be thei into signes, and tymes, and dales, and geeris;	Und Gott sprach: Es werden Liechtes Himmels die unter Feste da scheiden tag und nacht und geben zeichen zeiten, tage und jare	Then said God: let there be lyghtes in the firmament of heuene to deuyde the daye from the nyghte, that they may be vnto signes seasons, days & years.	Independent rendering of ך as final.
15 יהי למארח בבקר השמים למארח למיתות העמים ושנים; למיתות	καὶ ἔστωσαν εἰς φαεινὸν ἐν τῷ στερωματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὥστε φαίνεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως.	Ut luceant in firmamento caeli, et illuminent terram. Et factum est ita.	And ligine thei in the firmament of heuene, and ligine thei the erthe; and maad it is so.	And shyne tho in the firmament of heuene, and ligine tho the erthe; and it was doon so.	Und seven Liechter an der Feste des Himmels dasz die scheinen auff Erden. Und es geschach also.	And let them be lyghtes in the firmament of heuene, to shyne vpon the erth. & so it was.	
16 יהי ערב ויהי בקר יום רביעי; יום ראשון בבקר השמים במבול בין הים ויבין הקלה הדין הלכות למיתות העמים ושנים; למיתות	καὶ ἐποίησαν ὁ θεὸς τοὺς δύο φωστῆρας τοὺς μεγάλους, τὸν φωστῆρα τὸν μέγαν εἰς ἀρχὰς τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τὸν φωστῆρα τὸν ἐλάσσον εἰς ἀρχὰς τῆς νυκτός, καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρους.	Fecitque Deus duos luminaria magna: luminare maius, ut praesset diem; et luminare minus, ut praesset noctem, et stellas.	And God made two greet light gyuers, the more light gyuer that it were before to the day, and the lesse light gyuer that it were before to the nygt, and sterres.	And God made twei grete lightis, the greater light that it schulde be before to the dai, and the lesse light that it schulde be before to the nygt; and God made sterres;	Und Gott machet zwey grosse Liechter ein grosz Liecht das den Tag regiere und ein klein Liecht das die Nacht regiere dazzu auch Sterne.	And God made two great lyghtes A greater lyghte to rule the daye, & a lesse lyghte to rule the nyghte, and he made sterres also.	Follows L against Heb. LXX H P in using indefinite article, but not in rendering הַכֶּלֶם and הַכֶּלֶם. Follows P against LXXVII in supplying verb to soften abruptness.

[illegible]

HEB.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
Gen. 1:22	καὶ εὐλόγησεν αὐτὰ ὁ θεὸς λέγων· Ἀβρά- μω, καὶ πλῆρω- σάτε τὰ ὕδατα ἐν ταῖς θαλάσσαις, καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ πλοῦ- θυσθήσων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. καὶ ἐγένετο ἔσπερα καὶ ἔγενετο πρωί, ἡμέρα πρώτη.	Benedixitque eis, dicens: Crescite, et multiplicamini, et replete aquas maris, avesque multiplicentur su- per terram. Et factum est vespere et mane, dies quin- tus.	and blisside to hem, seynge, Growth, and beth ge multiplyed, and fulfillth the watres of the see, and the briddis be multi- plied vpon the erthe And maad is euen and moru, the fyneth day.	and blisside hem, and seide, We ge- and be ge multi- plied and fille ge the watris of the see and briddis be multiplied on erthe. And the evenid and the morwetid was maad, the fyue the dai. And God seide, The erthe brynge forth a luyunge soul in his kynde, work bestis and crep- yng bestis, and vnesonable beestis of erthe, bi her kyndis, and it was don so.	Und Gott segnet sie und sprach: Seyt fruchtbar und mehret euch und erfüllet das wasser im Meer und das Gevögel mehr- sch auf Erden. Da ward aus abend und morgen der fünfte Tag. Und Gott sprach: Die Erde bring herfür lebendige Thier ein jeglichs nach seiner art Vieh Gewürm und Thier auf Erden ein jeglichs nach seiner art, und es geschach also. Also machet Gott die Thier auf Erden ein jeglichs nach seiner art und das Vieh nach seiner art und allerley Ge- würm auf Erden nach seiner art, und Gott sahe dass es gut war.	And God blessed them sayinge, They shall multiplye and fille the waters on the sees, & let the foules multiplye vpon the erth. And so of the even- yng & morninge was made the fyfth daye. And God sayd: let the erth bring forth lyvyng creatures in their kyndes: catell & wormes & beastes of the erth in their kyndes, & so it came to passe. And god made the beastes of the erth in their kyndes, & catell in their kyndes, and all maner wormes of the erth in their kyndes: and God nach sawe that it was good. Und Gott sahe dass es gut war.	Follows literal Heb. (LXX V H) against P L. Cl. vs. 5. Follows L in special meaning of וַיְבָרֵךְ for context. Follows L in choice of word.
23	וַיְבָרֵךְ אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הַיָּם וְאֶת-כָּל- הַחַיָּה אֲשֶׁר-בָּהֶם וְאֶת-כָּל-הָעוֹף אֲשֶׁר-עָלָה עַל-הָאָרֶץ וְאֶת-כָּל-הַשָּׂרָף אֲשֶׁר-עָלָה עַל-הָאָרֶץ וְאֶת-כָּל-הַשָּׂרָף אֲשֶׁר-עָלָה עַל-הָאָרֶץ	καὶ εὐλόγησεν ὁ θεὸς τὰ ὕδατα τῆς γῆς κατὰ γένος καὶ τὰ κτῆνη κατὰ γένος καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐπι- πλέοντα τῆς γῆς κατὰ γένος αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸν ὅλον τὸν κόσμον.	And God made bes- tis of the erthe af- ter their special kyndis, and so it was maad.* And God saig that it was good;	And God made vne- sonable beestis of erthe bi her kyndis, and werk beestis and creplyng bees- tis, and unreson- able beestis of erthe, bi her kynd- is; and it was done so.* And God saig that it was good;	Also machet Gott die Thier auf Erden ein jeglichs nach seiner art und das Vieh nach seiner art und allerley Ge- würm auf Erden nach seiner art, und Gott sahe dass es gut war.	And god made the beastes of the erth in their kyndes, & catell in their kyndes, and all maner wormes of the erth in their kyndes: and God nach sawe that it was good. Und Gott sahe dass es gut war.	Follows L in special meaning of וַיְבָרֵךְ for context. Follows L in choice of word.
24	וַיְבָרֵךְ אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הָאָרֶץ וְאֶת- כָּל-הַחַיָּה אֲשֶׁר- בָּהֶם וְאֶת-כָּל-הָעוֹף אֲשֶׁר-עָלָה עַל-הָאָרֶץ וְאֶת-כָּל-הַשָּׂרָף אֲשֶׁר-עָלָה עַל-הָאָרֶץ	καὶ εὐλόγησεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰ κτῆνη κατὰ γένος, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐπι- πλέοντα τῆς γῆς κατὰ γένος, καὶ τὸν ὅλον τὸν κόσμον.	And God made bes- tis of the erthe af- ter their special kyndis, and so it was maad.* And God saig that it was good;	And God made bes- tis of the erthe af- ter their special kyndis, and so it was maad.* And God saig that it was good;	Also machet Gott die Thier auf Erden ein jeglichs nach seiner art und das Vieh nach seiner art und allerley Ge- würm auf Erden nach seiner art, und Gott sahe dass es gut war.	And god made the beastes of the erth in their kyndes, & catell in their kyndes, and all maner wormes of the erth in their kyndes: and God nach sawe that it was good. Und Gott sahe dass es gut war.	Follows L in special meaning of וַיְבָרֵךְ for context. Follows L in choice of word.
25	וַיְבָרֵךְ אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הָאָרֶץ וְאֶת- כָּל-הַחַיָּה אֲשֶׁר- בָּהֶם וְאֶת-כָּל-הָעוֹף אֲשֶׁר-עָלָה עַל-הָאָרֶץ וְאֶת-כָּל-הַשָּׂרָף אֲשֶׁר-עָלָה עַל-הָאָרֶץ	καὶ εὐλόγησεν ὁ θεὸς τὰ ὕδατα τῆς γῆς κατὰ γένος καὶ τὰ κτῆνη κατὰ γένος καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐπι- πλέοντα τῆς γῆς κατὰ γένος αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸν ὅλον τὸν κόσμον.	And God made bes- tis of the erthe af- ter their special kyndis, and so it was maad.* And God saig that it was good;	And God made bes- tis of the erthe af- ter their special kyndis, and so it was maad.* And God saig that it was good;	Also machet Gott die Thier auf Erden ein jeglichs nach seiner art und das Vieh nach seiner art und allerley Ge- würm auf Erden nach seiner art, und Gott sahe dass es gut war.	And god made the beastes of the erth in their kyndes, & catell in their kyndes, and all maner wormes of the erth in their kyndes: and God nach sawe that it was good. Und Gott sahe dass es gut war.	Follows L in special meaning of וַיְבָרֵךְ for context. Follows L in choice of word.

* This sentence repeated with slight variations in H and P.

Gen. 1:26	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
	וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים נַעֲשֶׂה אָדָם בְּצַלְמֵנוּ כִּדְמוּתֵנוּ וַיִּרְדּוּ בִדְגַת הַיָּם הַבְּשֵׂם הַבְּרִמָּה וּבְכָל-הַחַיָּה הַרְמִשִּׁית וּבְכָל-הַרְמִשִּׁי הָאָרֶץ:	καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς Ποιή- σωμεν ἀνθρώπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ κατ' ὁμοιω- σιν καὶ ἀρχιτεύσαν- των ἰχθύων τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τῶν πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρα- νοῦ καὶ τῶν τετραπό- δων καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐρ- πετῶν τῶν ἐρπον- των ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.	Et ait: Faciamus Hominem ad imaginem, et similitudinem nos- tram, et præsit piscibus maris, et volatilibus caeli, et bestiis, universae- que terræ, omni- que reptili, quod mouetur in terra.	and seith, Make we man to the ymage and oure likenesse, and bi- fore be he to the fishis of the see, and to the volatils of heuene, and to the beestis of the erth, and to al creature, and to al the crepyng thing that mouth on the erthe.	and seide, Make we man to oure ymage and lik- nesse, and be he souereyn to the fishes of the see, and to the volatils of heuene, and to vnyreasonable bees- tis of erthe, and to ech creature, and to ech crepyng beest, which is moued in erthe.	Und Gott sprach: Lasst uns Men- schen machen in Bild das uns gleich sey die da herr- schen uber die Fis- che im Meer und uber die Vögel un- ter dem Himmel und uber das Vich und uber die gantzen Erde und uber alles Ge- wurm das auf Erden krecht.	And God sayd: let vs make man in oursymilitude and after-oure lyk- nesse: that he may have rule over the fyshe of the see, and over the foules of the ayre, and over catell, and over all the erth, and over all wormes that crepe on the erth.	Follows Heb. V P against L's loose rendering. Symilitude from V, lycknesse from H against L's more P. T avoids im- age.
27	וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הָאָדָם בְּצַלְמֵנוּ בְּרָא אֶת-זָכָר וְאֶת-נֶקֶבָה בְּרָא אֹתָם:	καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ ἐποίη- σεν αὐτὸν ἄρσεν καὶ θήλην ἐποίησεν αὐτοὺς,	Et creauit Deus ho- minem ad imagi- nem suam: ad ad imaginem Dei creauit illum, mas- culum et feminam creauit eos.	And God made of nought man to the ymage and his likenesse; to the ymage of God he made hym; maale and femaale he made hem of nought.	And God made of nought a man, to his ymage and li- kenesse; God made of nought a man, to the ymage of God; God made of nought hem, male and female.	Und Gott schuff den Menschen Im zum Bilde zum Bilde Gottes schuff er ihn. und er schuff sie ein Männlin und Fräwlin	And God created man after hys lycknesse, after the lycknesse of God created he him: male & fe- male created he them.	Follows LXX V H P against L's more correct rendering.
28	וַיְבָרֶכְהוּ אֱלֹהִים אֶת-אָדָם וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים בְּרָכְךָ הוּא וְכָל-הַיָּם הַרְמִישִׁי וְכָל-הַחַיָּה הַרְמִישִׁית וְכָל-הַיָּם הַרְמִישִׁי וְכָל-הַחַיָּה הַרְמִישִׁית וְכָל-הַיָּם הַרְמִישִׁי וְכָל-הַחַיָּה הַרְמִישִׁית	καὶ ἐλόγησεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς λέγων Ἀεζί- ωσθε, καὶ πληθύν- ωσθε, καὶ πληρώ- σατε τὴν γῆν καὶ κατακυριεύσατε αὐ- τήν, καὶ ἀρχετέ τὰν ἰχθύων τῆς θαλάσ- σης καὶ τὰν πετει- νῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ	Benedixitque illis Deus, ait: Cres- cite et multiplicamini, et replete terram, et subijcite eam, et domina- mini piscibus mari- s, et volatilibus caeli, et universis animalibus, quae	And God blisid to hem, and seith, Growe ge, and be ge multiplied, and fulfille ge the erthe, and sogette ge it, and haue ge lord- ship to the fishis of the see, and to the volatilis of heu- ene.	And God blesside hem, and seide, Encresce ge, and be ge multiplied, and fille ge the erthe, and make ge it sugēt, and be ge lordis to fischis of the see, and to volatilis of heuene.	sie und sprach zu inen: Seyt frucht- bar und mehret euch und füllet die Erden und machet sie euch unterthan. Und herrschet uber Fischim Meer und	And God blessed them, and God sayd vnto them, Growe and multi- plye and fylle the erth and subdue it and haue domyni- on over the fysch of the see, and over the foules of the	

	HEB.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
Gen. 2: 1	וְכָל-צֶמַח	ὁ κόσμος αὐτῶν	et omnis ornatus eorum	and al the anowning of hem.	and al the urning of tho.	mit iren gautzen Heer.	wyth all their ap- parell:	Rejects L's correct rendering for one of his own not so good.
4	כִּיּוֹם	ἡ ἡμέρα	in die	in the day	in the day	zu der zeit	in the tyme	Follows L against Heb. LXX V H P.
5	וְכָל-יֶשֶׁבֶת הָאָרֶץ הָשָׂה כֶּרֶם וְהָיָה בָאֵץ כֶּרֶם וְכָל-עֵשֶׂב הַשָּׂדֶה כֶּרֶם יִצְמַח	καὶ πᾶν χλωρὸν ἀγροῦ πρὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ πάντα χλωρὰ ἀγροῦ πρὸ τοῦ ἀνατελεῖν	et omne virgultum agri antequam ori- retur in terrā, om- nemque herbam regionis priusquam germinaret	and ech bushe of the feeld or it were growun in the erthe, and al erbe of region before that it buriownde	and ech litil tre of erthe before that it sprong out in erthe; and he made ech erbe of the feeld before that it buriownde	und allerley Bäume auff dem Felde die zuvor nie gewest waren auff Erden Und allerley Kraut auff dem Felde das zuvor nie ge- wachsen war.	and all the shrubbes of the felde be fore they were in the erthe. And all the herbes And all the herbes of the felde before they sprunge.	interpret כֶּרֶם. T follows LXX V, however, not L.
9	מִקֶּדֶם	κατὰ ἀνατολὰς	a principio	fro bigynnyng	at the bigynnyng		[a garden in Eden] from the begyn- nyng	Follows LXX V H P against L's correct rendering.
13	וְכָל-אֵץ כֵּשׁ	—Αἰθυσίας	Ethiopiae	at the erthe of Ethiopie	at the loond of Ethiopie	das ganze Moren- land	all the lande of Inde	An independent con- jecture.
18	עֵדֶר כְּנָדָר	βοηθὸν κατ' αὐτόν	adjutorium simile sibi	help like hym.	an help lijk to hym self	ein Gehülffen die umb in sey	an helper to beare him company	Follows L in render- ing V H P.
3: 4	לֹא מוֹתָ הַמּוֹתָרִין	οὐ θανάτω ἀποθα- νείσθε	nequaquam morte moriemini	Thurg deth ge shal not die	Ge schulen not die bi deeth	Ir werdet mit nichte desz tods sterben.	tush ye shall not dye	A vigorous independ- ent rendering of the Heb. idiom.
16	הֲרַבָּה אֶרֶבָּה עֲבֹדָה הָיָה-לְךָ	τὰς λύπας σου καὶ τὸν στεναγμὸν	aerumnas tuas et conceptus tuas	thi myseses and thi conceyvingis	thi wretchidnessis and thi conseyu- yngis	I ch wil dir vil schmerzen schai- fen wenn du schwanger wirst Du solt mit schmerzen Kinder geben.	I will suerly encrease thy sorrow and make the oft with child	Abandons L's loose paraphrase for an independent ren- dering, showing in the phrase used for עֲבֹדָה a desire to follow English usage.

Gen. 3:10	HEB.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
	עפר	οὐκ ἐάν ὁφθῶς προσενέγκης ὁφθῶς δὲ μὴ διὰ τῆς ἡμαρτίας ἡνύκατον· πρὸς σε ἡ ἀποστοργὴ ἀδευτὸν καὶ σὺ ἀρῆγεις αὐτοῦ	pulvis Nonne si bene egeris, recipies; sin autem male, statum in foribus peccatum aderit; sed sub te erit appetitus ejus, et tu dominaberis illius.	powdre Shalt thou not reseye wel, if thou wel dost; ellis forsothe eucl, anon in the gatis this synnes schal ben at thee? but vndre thee shal be the appetite of hym, and thou shalt haue lordship of bym.	dust Whether not if thou schalt do wel, thou schalt resseyue; but if thou doist yuele, thi synne schal be present anon in the gatis? but the desir therof schal be vndur thee, and thou schalt be lord thereof.	Erden Istis nicht also? wenn du fromb bist so bistu angeneme bistu aber nicht from so ruhet die Sünde für der thür. Aber lasz du ir nie iren willen sondern herrsche uber sie.	erth thou art Votest thou not if thou dost well thou shalt receive it? But and yf thou dost evell, by & by thy synne lyeth open in the dore. Notwithstanding let it be subdued unto thee, and see thou rule it.	Follows LXX and L against Heb. V H P. Follows V H P against L. Follows H and P against Heb. V L. One of the few cases where influence of H P apart from V can be shown.
8	וַאֲמַר קַיִן אֶל הָאֵל אֲחִיר לְעֵרְכִי	καὶ εἶπεν Κάιν πρὸς Ἀβελ τὸν ἀδελφόν αὐτοῦ Διέλωμεν εἰς τὸ πεδόν, στένον καὶ τρέμον	Dixitque Cain ad Abel fratrem suum Egrediamur foras, vagus et profugus	And Cayn seide to Abel his brother, Go we out. vagaunt and ferfugitif	And Cayn seide to Abel his brother, Go we out. vnstable of dwelling and fleyng aboute	Da redet Cain mit seinem Bruder Habel. unstät und flüchtig.	And Cain talked with Abell his brother a vagabond & a rennagate.	Follows L in omitting the phrase given by LXX V (H P). Vagabond suggested by V. Rennagate independent.
12	וְאִישׁ הָרֵקְנִי לְפָנָיו יֵרְכֵר לְחִבְרָתוֹ	ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ἀνέκτεινα εἰς τραῦμα ἐμοί, καὶ νεενίσκον εἰς μύλωμα ἐμοί,	occidi virum in vulnus meum, et adulescentulum in livorem meum.	I slowe a man into my wound, and a litle waxen man into my wannesse; generacioun of Adam.	Y haue slayn a man bi my wounds, and a gong weyng man bi my violent betyng;	Ich hab einen Mann erschlagen mir zur wunden und einen Jüngling mir zur beulen.	I have slayne a man and wounded my selfe, & have slayne a yongman & gotte myselte strypes.	Independent and impossible.
5: 1	וְהוֹלִיד אָדָם	γενέσεως ἀνθρώπων	generationis Adam	generacioun of Adam.	generacioun of Adam	desz menschen Geschlecht	generation of man	Follows LXX and L against V H P.
24	וְהוֹלִיד הַנֶּד אֶת הָאֱלֹהִים לְיוֹנָתוֹ כִּי לָקַח אֹתוֹ הָאָדָם	καὶ εὐηρέστησεν Ἰωὴλ τῷ θεῷ καὶ οὐκ ἠγόρευετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος μετέθηκεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεός	Ambulavitque cum Deo, et non apparuit; quia tulit eum Deus.	And he gede with God, and he aperyde not; for God toke hym.	And Enoth geed with God, and apperde not afterward, for God took hym awe.	Und dieweil er ein Göttlich Leben führte nam in Gott hinweg und ward nicht mehr gesehen.	Henoch lyved a goodly life, and was no more sene, for God toke him away	Adopts L's paraphrase instead of Heb. V H P.

Gen. 6: 1	HEB.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
	וְהָיוּ הַבָּנוֹת הַזֹּאתִים לְבָרִית וְהָיוּ הַבָּנוֹת הַזֹּאתִים לְבָרִית	καὶ θυγατέρες ἑγένον θησαν αὐτοῖς	et filias procreas- sent	and hadden brought forth dowdgrs	and hadden gen- drid dowdgrs	und zeugeten jnen Töchter	had begot them doughters	Follows V H P L against painting of Heb. & LXX.
4	וְהָיוּ הַבָּנוֹת הַזֹּאתִים לְבָרִית וְהָיוּ הַבָּנוֹת הַזֹּאתֽים לְבָרִית	οὐ δὲ γίγαντες ἦσαν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις	Gigantes autem erant super terram in diebus illis	Giauntes forsothe weren vpon the erthe in tho dates,	So theli gi auntis weren on erthe in tho dates.	Es waren auch zu den zeiten Tyrannen auff Erden.	There were tirantes in the world in thos dayes	Follows L without any conceivable reason.
18	וְהָיוּ הַבָּנוֹת הַזֹּאתִים לְבָרִית	δαδῆγον	foedus	counaunt	counaunt	Bund	myne apoyntement	In his first edition T used various rend- erings for בְּרִית
9: 9	וְהָיוּ הַבָּנוֹת הַזֹּאתִים לְבָרִית	δαδῆγον	pactum	"	"	Bund	my bond	according to con- text, but the reviv-
13	וְהָיוּ הַבָּנוֹת הַזֹּאתִים לְבָרִית	δαδῆγον	foederis	"	"	Bund	my appointment	tion of 1534 substi-
15	וְהָיוּ הַבָּנוֹת הַזֹּאתִים לְבָרִית	δαδῆγον	foederis	"	"	Bund	my testament	utes covenant in all
17	וְהָיוּ הַבָּנוֹת הַזֹּאתִים לְבָרִית	δαδῆγον	foederis	bonde	"	Bund	my testament	cases (following L)
12: 2	וְהָיוּ הַבָּנוֹת הַזֹּאתִים לְבָרִית	καὶ ἔση εὐλογητός	erisque benedictus	thou shalt be blis- sid	thou shalt be blis- sid	und solt ein Segen seyen	that thou mayst be a blessing	Follows L against LXX V H P
14: 1	וְהָיוּ הַבָּנוֹת הַזֹּאתִים לְבָרִית	ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ βασι- λείᾳ τῇ Ἀμραφελ	factum est autem in illo tempore ut Amraphel	it was don in that tyme, that Am- raphel	it was don in that tyme, that Amrafel	es begab sich zu der Zeit desz Kö- nigs Amraphel	it chaunsed within a while that Amra- phel	Follows V H P in an impossible render- ing of בְּרִית against L's correct reading.
15: 2	וְהָיוּ הַבָּנוֹת הַזֹּאתִים לְבָרִית	ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπολυομαι ἀστεως· ὁ δὲ υἱὸς Μάσκε τῆς οἰκογε- νοῦς μου, ὁδτος Δαμασκεὺς Ἐλιεζερ	Ego vadam absque liberis, et filius pro- curatoris domus meae, iste Damas- cus Eliezer	I shall go withouten fre children, and fre the sone of the proctour of myn hows, this Damask of Elyzar, shal be myn eyre.	V shal go with oute fre children, and this Damask, sone of Elieser, the procuratour of myn hous, shal be myn eyr.	Ich gebe dahin on kinder und mein Hausvogt dieser Elieser von Da- masco hat einen Son.	I goo childlesse, and the eater of myne house, this Eliesar of Damasco hath a sone.	All the versions mis- understand בְּרִית בְּרִית, T follows L instead of V or H P.
6	וְהָיוּ הַבָּנוֹת הַזֹּאתִים לְבָרִית	καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην	Et reputatum est illi ad iudiciam	and it was alowid to hym to rygwis- nes.	and it was aretid to hym to rigful- nesse.	und das rechnet er jm zur gerechtig- keit	and it was counted to hym for right- iuesnes	Does not follow L's correct rendering.
17: 1	וְהָיוּ הַבָּנוֹת הַזֹּאתִים לְבָרִית	εὐφράσσει ἐναντίον ἐμοῦ, καὶ γίνου ἀμεμπτos	ambula coram me, et esto perfectus	goo before me, and be thow perfite	go thou before me, and be thou perfir-	wandle für mir und sey fromb	Walke before me and be uncorrupte	A good independent rendering of תָּמִים

Gen. 18: 10	HEB.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
	כֶּתֶה הָיָה	κατά τον καιρόν σου- τον εις ώρας	tempore isto, vita comite	this tyme, the liffe ledere	in this tyme, if Y hye	so ich lebe	as soone as the frute can lyve	All stumble on this obscure phrase. T ventures his own conjecture differ- ent from all others.
22: 14	בָּרַךְ יְהוָה יֵרָאֵה	ἐν τῷ ὅρῳ Κύριος ὡφθῆν	In monte Dominus videbit	In the hill the Lord shal se	The Lord schal see in the bil.	Auf dem Berge da der Herr sihet.	In the mounte will the Lord be sene	T does not follow pointing of בָּרַךְ as const., but does follow passive pointing of verb against other ver- sions.
23: 2	קָרַת אֲרֵבֶת	πόλις Ἀρεβ	in civitate Arbee	in the citee of Arbee	in the citee of Arbee	in der Hauptstadt	in a heade cye	Follows L against others.
15	אֶרְצָאֲרֵבֶת מֵאֵת שֶׁבַע-כֶּסֶף כִּינִי וְהִכֵּה מִדֵּדֵהָ	τετρακτασιών δεδόχα- μαι ἀργυρίων· ἀνα- μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ σοῦ τὶ ἀν εἶη τοῦτο	Terra, quam postu- las, quadrangenti siclis argenti valet; isidus est pretium; inter me et te, sed quantum est hoc	the ertie that thow askist is worth four hundred sicles of siluer, this is the prys bitwix me, and thee but what is that?	the lond which thow axist is worth four hundred sicles of siluer, that is the prys bitwize me and thee, but hou myche is this?	Das Feld ist vier hun- dert Sekel Silbers wehrt. Was ist das aber zwischen mir und dir.	The lande is worth xxx hundred sy- cles of sylver: But what is that betwixte the and me?	T follows L in a sub- stantially correct but not literal rendering.
27: 41	יָקָרְבָּה יָמֵי אָבִי וְאֶרְבֵּה אֶת יָקָב אֲחִי	ἐγγιστάτωσαν αἱ ἡμέ- ραι τοῦ πατρὸς μου, ἵνα παύσῃ μου, ἵνα ἀποσπείνω Ιακώβ τὸν ἀδελφόν μου	veniant dies luctus patris mei, et oc- cidam Jacobum fratrem meum	the days of weilyng of my fader shal come, and I shal slee Jacob my brother	the daies of moren- yng of my fadir schulden come, and Y schal sle Jacob, my brother	Es wirt die zeit bald kommen dasz mein Vatter leyde tragen musz Denn ich wil meinen Bruder Jacob erwürgen.	The dayes of my fa- thers sorowe are at hade, for I will sle my brother Jacob	Follows L against LXX V H P.
40: 3	וְהָיָה כְּבִיר אֶתָּה כְּבִיר וְהָיָה אֲחִי וְהָיָה שָׂמָּה יְהוָה עִיר	ῥοῦβεν· πρωτότοκός μου, σὺ ἄρχὴ μου καὶ ἀρχὴ τέκνων μου· σκληρὸς φέ- ρεται καὶ σκληρὸς αἰσθάν.	Ruben primogenitus meus, tu fortitudo mea, et principium doloris mei; prior in donis, major in impero.	Ruben, my first getun, thow my strongthe, and the begynning of my sorwe; first in giftis, and more in comaundyng;	Ruben, my firste gen- drid some, thou art my strongthe and the begynnyng of my sorowe; thou oughtist to be the former in giftis, the more in lordship;	Ruben mein erster Sohn Du bist meine Kraft und meine erste macht der überst in Opfer und der überst in Reich.	Ruben, thou art myne eldest some, my myghte and the begynnyng of my strength, chefe in reccaunge and chefe in power.	Follows L in correct rendering of אָבִי. In rendering שָׂמָּה T is independent and wrong.

Gen. 40: 4	HEB.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
	פֶּתוֹ כְּמִים אֶל־הַתֵּרֶת בְּיָמֵי כְּשֶׁבֶר אֶרֶץ אֶל־הַלֵּלִית הַיָּבֵיטָה בְּכֹסֶם כֶּהָאֶשְׁכֵּר כְּבִרְכֵּם כְּהִרְכֵּם כִּי בַּמֶּשֶׁבֶת הָיָה אִישׁ הַכְּרָמָה קֶרֶן־שֵׁרֶי כֶּהָאֶרֶץ הַחֲרֹת מִטָּרָה בְּהֵר עֵלְיֹת כֶּרֶת רֶבֶץ כְּהִרְכֵּם כְּהִרְכֵּם יָקִימָהּ יָקִימָהּ	ἐξέβλασας ὡς ὕδωρ. ἐξέβλασας ἀνέβη γὰρ ἐν τῇ κοίτῃ τοῦ πατρὸς σου. τὸτε ἔμεινας τῇ στρωματικῇ οὐ ἀνέ- βης. εἰς βουλὴν αὐτῶν μὴ ἐλθοι ἡ ψυχὴ μου, καὶ ἐν τῇ σπυράσει αὐτῶν μὴ ἐπίσῃ τὰ ἡγὰρά μου, ὅτι ἐν τῷ θυμῷ αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν ἀνθρώ- πους, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐπι- θυμίᾳ αὐτῶν ἐνε- πόκησαν ταῦτονον. ἀνύμνος λέοντος, ἰουδαῖα ἐβλαστῶν, νιέ μου, ἀνέβης ἀνατασσὼν ἐκκομή- της ὡς λέων καὶ ὡς σύνυμος, τίς ἐγχερεῖ αὐτόν; ἰουδαῖα ἐβλαστῶν, νιέ μου, ἀνέβης ἀνατασσὼν ἐκκομή- της ὡς λέων καὶ ὡς σύνυμος, τίς ἐγχερεῖ αὐτόν;	Eftusus es sicut aqua, non crescas, quia ascendisti cubile patris tui, et macu- lasti stratum ejus. In consilium eorum non veniat anima mea, et in coetu illorum non sit gloria mea quia in furore suo occi- derunt virum, et in voluntate sua su- foderunt murum. Catulus leonis Juda: ad praedam, fili mi, ascendisti, re- quiescens accubu- isti ut leo, et quasi leona, quis susci- tabit eum?	thou art held out as water; ne grow thow, for thou hast steied up the cowche of thi fader, and thou hast defoulid the bedde of hym. In the counsell of hem come not my soule, and in the cumpanye of hem be not my glorie; for in her woodhes thet slawen a man, and in her owne wil thei vndredel- yden the wal, The whelp of lyon Juda, to the prey, some myne, thou stedyst vp; resti- ynge thou ley down as a lyon, and as a honesse who shal arere hym?	thou art sched out as watr; wexe thou not, for thou stedist on the bed of thi fader, and defoulidst his bed. My soule come not in to the counsell of hem, and my glorie be not in the con- gregacioun of hem; for in her wood- nesse thei kylliden a man, and in her wille thei mynciden the wal; A whelp of lion is Judaa; my some thou stedist to prey; thou restid- ist, and hast leyn as a lion, and as a honesse who schal reise hym?	Er fuhr leicht fertig dahin wie Wasser du salt nicht der Oberst seyn Denn du bist auß deines Vatters Lā- ger gestiegen daschbst hastu mein Bette besudelt mit dem aufsteigen. Meine Seele komme nicht in jren Raht und meine Ehre sey nicht in jrer Kirchen Denn in jrem zorn haben sie den Man er- würgel und in jrem mutwillen haben sie den Ochsen verder- bet. Juda ist ein junger Löwe du bist hoch kommen thou art come on mein Son durch grosse Sieg Er hat nider gekniet und sich geläger wie ein Löwe und wie ein Löwia Wer wil sich wider in auffhehen ?	As unstable as water wast thou; thou shalt therefore not be the cheft, for thou weinst vp vpo thy fathers bedd, and than delyed- est thou my couche with goynge vpo. In to their secrettes come not my soule, and vnto their con- gregation be my honoure not cou- pled; for in their wrath they slewe a man, and in their selfewill they houghten an oxe. Juda is a lions whelp. From spoyle my some thou art come on me: he layde him downe and couched himselfe as a lion, and as a honesse. Who dare sterc him vp?	פֶּתוֹ כְּמִים אֶל־הַתֵּרֶת בְּיָמֵי כְּשֶׁבֶר אֶרֶץ אֶל־הַלֵּלִית הַיָּבֵיטָה בְּכֹסֶם כֶּהָאֶשְׁכֵּר כְּבִרְכֵּם כְּהִרְכֵּם כִּי בַּמֶּשֶׁבֶת הָיָה אִישׁ הַכְּרָמָה קֶרֶן־שֵׁרֶי כֶּהָאֶרֶץ הַחֲרֹת מִטָּרָה בְּהֵר עֵלְיֹת כֶּרֶת רֶבֶץ כְּהִרְכֵּם כְּהִרְכֵּם יָקִימָהּ יָקִימָהּ פֶּתוֹ כְּמִים אֶל־הַתֵּרֶת בְּיָמֵי כְּשֶׁבֶר אֶרֶץ אֶל־הַלֵּלִית הַיָּבֵיטָה בְּכֹסֶם כֶּהָאֶשְׁכֵּר כְּבִרְכֵּם כְּהִרְכֵּם כִּי בַּמֶּשֶׁבֶת הָיָה אִישׁ הַכְּרָמָה קֶרֶן־שֵׁרֶי כֶּהָאֶרֶץ הַחֲרֹת מִטָּרָה בְּהֵר עֵלְיֹת כֶּרֶת רֶבֶץ כְּהִרְכֵּם כְּהִרְכֵּם יָקִימָהּ יָקִימָהּ

	HEB.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
Gen. 49:10	לֹא־יִסְרֹךְ שֶׁבֶט מִיָּדְיָה מִחֶקֶם מִבֶּן רִנְהוּ עַד כִּי־יָבֵא שִׁלָּה וְלֹא יִקְרָה עִמָּם	οὐκ ἐλεύσει ἄρσενος ἐξ Ἰουδα, καὶ ἡγοί- μενος ἐκ τῶν μαρῶν αὐτοῦ, ὥς ἂν ἔλθῃ τὰ ἀρσενία αὐ- τοῦ, καὶ αὐτὸς προ- δοκία ἐθῶν.	Non auferetur scep- trum de Juda, et dux de femore ejus, donec veniat qui mittendus est, et ipse erit expectatio gentium.	The seipre fro Juda shal not be takun away, and a duke fro the leende of hym, to the tyme that he come that is to be sent, and he shal be the abidyng of folk of kynde,	The seipre shal not be takun away fro Juda, and a duky of his hiye, til he come that shal be sent, and he schal be abiding of he- thene men;	Es wirt das Scepter von Juda nicht entwendet werden noch ein Meister von seinen Fü- sen bisz dasz der Held komme und demselben werden die Völcker an- hangen.	The seipre shall not departe from Iuda, nor a ruelar from betwene his legges, T rejects the impos- sible attempt of V to derive from שֶׁבֶט, but not having anything better to offer, he transliterates.	
11	אִסְרֵי לִנְפֹךְ עֵרִיָּה וּלְשֶׁרָקָה כִּי אֶחָד בָּם בֵּינָם כִּבְשֹׁ וְכָרַם- עֲבָדָם סוֹרָה;	δεσμεύων πρὸς ἄμπε- λον τὸν πῶλον αὐ- τοῦ, καὶ τῇ ἔλκει τὸν πῶλον τῆς ὄσου αὐτοῦ. πλυνεῖ ἐν αὐγῇ τῆν στολήν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν αἵμα- τι σταφυλῆς τῆν περιβολὴν αὐτοῦ,	Ligans ad vineam pullum suum, et ad vitem, o fili mi, asinau suam, lava- bit in vino stolam suam, et in san- guine uvae pallium suum.	Bydyng to a vyn- gerd his colt, and to a vyn, O! my sone, his she asse, he shal washe in wyne his stoole, and in blood of a grape his mantil;	and he schal tye his colt at the vyn, and his fe- mal asse at the vyne; A! my sone, he schal waische his stoole in wyn, and his mentil in the blood of grape;	Er wirt sein Füllen an den Weinstock binden und seiner Eselin Son an den edlen Reben Er wirdt sein Kleid im Wein waschen und seinen Man- tel Weinbeerbhut.	He shall bynde his fole vnto the vine, and his asses colt vnto the vyne brauncie, and shall wash his garment in wyne and his mantell in the bloud of grapes,	
12	הַכֵּל עֵינַיִם מִיָּד וּלְבָב- שֵׁימָה בְּחֹלִיבִי;	χαρσυστοι. οἱ ὀφθαλ- μοὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ ὁ- πῶν, καὶ λευκοὶ οἱ ὀδοῦντες αὐτοῦ ἡ γάλα.	Pulchrioris sunt oculi ejus vino, et dentes ejus lacte candi- diores.	Fayrer ben the eyen of hym than wyn, and the teeth of hym whitter than mylk.	Hise igen ben fair- ere than wyn, and hise teeth ben whit- tere than mylk.	Seine Augen sind röttlicher denn Wein und seine Zeene weisser denn Milch.	his eyes are roudier than wyne, ad his teeth whitter then mylke.	Follows all the ver- sions in the not un- natural misinter- pretation of the ad- jectives with γάλα comparatives.
13	זָבֻלֹן יִשְׁכֵּן מִיָּמִים יִשְׁכֵּן וְהָיָה בְּחוּץ אֶרֶץ יִרְכָתָהּ עַל־עֵדֶן;	Ζαβουλὼν παράλιος κατοικήσει, καὶ αὐ- τὸς παρ' ὅρων πλοίων, καὶ παρα- τεῖς ὡς Σιδωνός,	Zabulon in litore maris habitabit, et in statione navium peritengens usque ad Sidonem.	Zabulon in the brynke of the see shal dwelle, and in the station of shippes, arechdyng vnto Sidon.	Zabulon schal dwelle in the brenk of the see, and in the stondyng of shippes; and schal stretche til to Sydon.	Sebulon wirdt an an- fuhrt desz Meers wohnen und an anfuhr der Schiffe und reichen an Sidon.	Zabulon shall dwell in the haufen of the see and in the porte of shippes, & shall reache vnto Sidon.	The Revisers have rendered זָבֻלֹן differently in the two clauses, but T and the earlier ver- sions are right.

Gen. 49:22	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
	בן פרת ויטה בן פרת בן זלפח בנות צדור בנות אשר; וימורדו רובו וישמרו בכלי הצב; והשב בארץ קשרו ויפיו דברי דור מדיד אבר דבק בשם דבר אבן וירואל;	ὁ υἱὸς τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς φάρ, υἱὸς τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦ μου ξυλφάδ; υἱὸς μου ρεσάρας; ἀπὸς με ἀνάστροφ- αν. εἰς ὃν διαδοικόμε- νον δουλοῦσαν, καὶ ἐνέχον αὐτῶς κύριοι τοῦ εὐμαρτων, καὶ συνεπιβῆν μετὰ κράτους τὰ τόξα αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐξέλθῃ τὰ νεῖρα βροχό- ων χεῖρας αὐτῶν διὰ χεῖρας δυνάστου λαοῦ· ἐκείθεν ὁ καταχύνας Ἰσ- ραὴλ. παρὰ θεοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς σου, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σὲν σοι, ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐμὸς, καὶ εὐλογί- ᾳ σὲν ἀρε εὐλογίαν οὐρανοῦ ἀΐων, καὶ εὐλογίαν γῆς ἐχούσης πάντα ἐνε- κεν εὐλογίας μα- στῶν καὶ ἰσχύας, καὶ ἰσχύας, καὶ ἰσχύας;	Filius accrescens Jo- seph, filius accres- cens et decorus as- pectu; filiae discor- rent super mu- rum. Sed exasperaverunt eum, et jurgati sunt, invidenterque illi habentes jacula. Sedit in forti arcus ejus, et dissoluta sunt vincula bra- chiorum et manu- um illius per manus potentis Jacobi; inde pastor egressus est lapis Israel. Deus patris tui erit adjutor tuus, et omnipotens bene- dicet tibi benedi- ctionibus caeli de- super, benedic- tionibus abyssus ja- centis deorsum, benedictionibus uberum et vulvae.	The sone accresyng, Joseph, the sone accresyng, and decorusly in sigt; the dougtris hider and thider remeden vpon the wal, But thei eggiden hym out, and streuen, and enuyden to hym, haudynge darts. Sat in the strong the bowe of hym, and vnbunden ben the bondis of armes, and of the hondis of hym bi the boond of the myghti of Jacob; thus a shepherde gede out, the stoon out, the stoonc of Yrael. God of thi fader shal be thin helper and the Almyghti shal blesse to thee with blessinges of heuene fro aboue, and with blessingis of the see liggynge beneath, and with blessingis of tēis, and of the wombe;	Joseph, a sone encreasyng, a sone encreasyng, and fair in biholdyng; dougtris runnen aboute on the wal, But hise biithren wrathiden hym, and chidden, and thei hadden darts and hadden enuye to hym. His bowe sat in the stronge, and the boondis of his armies, and hondis weren vnbounden bi the hond of the myghti of Jacob; of hym a sheperd gede out, the sheperd of Israel. God of thi fadir schal be thin helpe, and Almyghti God schal blesse thee with blessingis of heuene fro aboue, and with blessingis of the see liggynge beneath, with blessingis of tēis, and of the wombe;	Joseph wirt wachsen er wirt wachsen wie an einer quelle die Töchter treten enyher im Regiment. Und wiewol in die Schützen erzürnen und wider in krieg und verfolgen so bleibt doch sein Bogen fest und die arm seiner hände stark durch die hände desz mächtigen in Jacob ausz ihnen sind kommen Hirten und steine in Israel. Von deines Vatters Gott ist dir geholfen und von dem Almächtigen bist du gesegnet mit Segen oben vom Himmel herab mit Segen von der Tiefe die hunden ligt mit Segen an Brüsten und Beuchen.	That florishyng childe Joseph, that florishyng childe and goodly vn to the eye: the dougtrers come forth to bere rule. The shoters haue enuyed him and chydē with him ad hated him, And yet his bowe bode fast, & his armes and his handes were stronge, by the handes of the myghtye God of Jacob: out of him shal come an herde man a stonc in Israel. Thi fathers God shall helpe thee, & the almyghtie shall blesse thee with blessinges from heauen aboue, and with blessinges of the water that lieth vnder, & with blessinges of the brestes & of the wombes.	Follows V (H P) against L. Follows L's wild conjecture. "Envyed" from V H; "chydē" from P; "hated" is independent and wrong.
23								
24								
25								

HEB.	LXX.	V.	H.	P.	L.	T.	REMARKS
Gen. 49:26 ברכת אביך עבר עלי ברכת הור ברכת האר בבית עולם הרדן לאר הסד ולקדק נור אחר:	εὐλογίας πατρός σου καὶ μητρός σου· ὑπερσχεύσεν ἐν εὐλογίας ὅρεον μουναυ, καὶ ἐν εὐλογίας θεῶν ἀνάων· ἔσονται ἐπὶ κεφαλῇ Ιω- σὴφ, καὶ ἐπὶ κορυ- φῇ ὡς ἡγήσατο ἀδελφόν.	Benedictiones patris tibi confortatae sunt benedictionibus patrum ejus, donec veniret desiderium collum acterno- rum, fiant in capite Joseph, et in ver- tice Nazarei inter fratres suos.	The blessing of thy father ben- fitted thee with the blessings of the fathers of hym, to the time that were come, the desire of everlastynge hillis; ben thei maad in the heed of Joseph, and in the heed of Naza- rei among his bretheren.	The blessing of of thy father ben comfitted, the blessing of his fathers, til the desire of everlastynge hillis cam; bless- ynge ben maad in the herd of Joseph, and in the nol of Nazarei among his brithren.	Die segn deines Vaters denn die segn meiner Vorältern (nach wunsch der Hohen in die Welt) und sollen kom- men auf das Haupt Josephs und auf die Scheitel des Nasir unter seinen Brüdern.	The blessings of thy father were stronge: even as the blessings of my elders, after the desyre of the hiest in the worlde, and these blessings shall fall on the head of Joseph, and on the toppe of the head of him yt was separat from his bretheren.	Disregards L's cor- rect translation. Follows L's fantastic conjecture. Independent in trans- lating ברכך .
DI. 32: 4 השור המים פעלו פי כל- הרכו משפט אל אמהו ואחיו על בדיק השור הוא:	θεός, ἀλγὴνὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάσαι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπι- στει· θεός πιστός, καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀδ- ικία· δικαίος καὶ ἰσχυρός Κύριος.	Dei perfecta sunt opera, et omnes viae ejus iudicia; Deus fidelis, et absque ulla iniqui- tate, justus et rec- tus.	Of God perfitt ben the workys, and alle his weyes domes; a trewe God, and with outen eny wickidnes, rygt wis and even.	The workis of God ben perfitt, and alle hise weyes ben domes; God is faithful, and with- out ony wickid- nesse; God is iust and rigful.	Er ist ein Felsz seine Werk sind unsträflich Denn alles was er that das ist recht. Trew ist Gott und kein böses an im Gerecht und fromb ist er.	He is a rocke and perfecte are his deades, for all his wayes are with dis- crecion. God is faithfull and with- out wekednesse, both righteous and juste is he. The frowarde and ouerthwarte gen- eration hath married them selues to hinward, and are not his sonnes for their deformi- ties sake,	Avoids the hold Heb. figure. His para- phrase is independ- ent.
5 שחת לו לא בניו עומם הור עקב הפתח:	ἡμάρτησαν, οὐκ αὐτῷ τίκται, μωμητὰ γε- νὰ σκολιά καὶ διε- στραμμένη.	Peccauerunt ei, et non filii ejus in sordibus; genera- tio prava atque perversa.	Thei han synned to hym, and not his sones in filthis; shrewid kynred, and mysturnyd.	Thei synneden agens hym, and not his sones in filthis; that is, of idolatrie; shrewid and wai- ward generacioun.	Die verkehre und böse art sellet von im ab Sie sind Schandflecken und nicht seine Kinder.	The frowarde and ouerthwarte gen- eration hath married them selues to hinward, and are not his sonnes for their deformi- ties sake,	Independent render- ing of מרע, in keeping with the context, which L's is not.

	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
Da. 32: 7	זכר ימות יולם כיני שבות דר ירר שאל אביר היכר זקיר האמר יד: יחבר ידיו	μνησθης ἡμέρας αἰώνος, σὺ ἔρε εἴη γενεῶν γενεῶν ἐνεργῶσαν τὸν πατέρα σου, καὶ ἀνεγγεῖρα σοι. τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους σου, καὶ ἐροῦσιν σοι.	Memento dierum antiquorum, cogita generationes singulas; interoga patrem tuum, et annuntiabit tibi; majores tuos, et dicent tibi:	Haue mynde of olde days, and think eche generacions; aske thi fader, and he shal telle to thee, thi more, and thei shulen seie to thee.	Haue thou minde of elde dates, thenke thou alle generacions; axe thi fadir, and he schal telle to thee, axe thi greitere men, and thei schulen seie to thee.	Bedenck der vorigen Zeit bisz daher er getrach bat an den alten Vättern Frage deinen Vater der wirdt dir sagen verkündigen die werden dir sagen.	Remember the days that are past: consyre the yeres from tyme to tyme. Axe thy fader and he will shewe the, thyne elders and they wyll tell the.	Independent, nearer literal than L.
8	בחה עליו נחם בהפידיו בני אדם הב נבנת עמים למסר בני ישראל:	ὅτε διεμέριζεν ὁ ψαυ- στος ἐθνὴ, ὡς διέ- σπειρεν νιὸς 'Αδάμ, ἐστησεν ἄρα ἐθνεῶν κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ.	Quando dividitbat Altissimus gentes, quando separabat filios Adam, constituit terminos populorum juxta numerum filiorum Israel.	Whanne deuydide the highest folkis of kynde, whanne he seuerde the sones of Adam, he sette the termys of puplis after the nountbre of the sones of Yrael.	Whanne the higeste departide folkis, whanne he departide the sones of Adam, he ordeynede the termis of puplis bi the nountbre of the sones of Israel.	Da der Allerhöchste die Völker zertheilet und zerstreuet der Menschen Kinder. Da setzt er die Grenzen der Völker nach der zahl der Kinder Israel.	When the most hyghest gaue the nacion an enheritaunce, and diuided the sonnes of Adam he put the borders of the nacion, fast by the multitude of the childern of Israel.	Independent and wrong.
10	המארה בארץ מדיבר הבחר יכל השכן הסבבני היבדני הצטרד אחריו יניני:	αὐτάραχεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, ἐν δόψει καυκάστος, ἐν γῇ ἀνύβρω· ἐκώκισεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπαύειν- σεν αὐτὸν, καὶ διε- φύλαξεν αὐτὸν ὡς κόρυν θάλασσο.	Invenit eum in terra deserta, in loco horrois et vastae solitudinis, circumduxit eum et docuit; et custodivit quasi pupillum oculi sui;	He foond hym in a desceit boond, in place of orrou, and of waast wilderness; he ladde hym aboute, and taughte, and kept as the apple of his eye.	The Lord foond hym in a desceit lond, in the place of orrou, and of waast wilderness; the Lord ledde hym aboute, and taughte hym, and kepte as the apple of his eye.	Er fandt in in der Wüsten in der dürem Einöde da es heulet. Er führet in und gab im das Gesetz Er behütet in wie sein Augapfel.	He founde him in a deserte lond, in a voyde ground and a rorynge wilderness, he led him aboute and gaue him understandinge, and kepte him as the apple of his eye.	Follows L. Independent, a good rendering.

Di. 32:11	HEB.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
	כְּנֶסֶת יִצְחָק קִנְיָן עַל-גִּזְלוֹתָיו יְרַחֵם יִפְרֹשׁ כְּנֶסֶת יִקְרָהוּ יִשְׂאָרוֹ עַל-אֲבֹתָיו:	ὡς ἄκρος σκεδάσαι νοστρον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς νοστροῖς αὐτοῦ ἐκπύγησεν, δις τὰς πτέρυγας αὐτοῦ ὄψεται αὐ- τοῖς, καὶ ἀνάλaben αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν με- ταρσίων αὐτοῦ.	Sicut aquila provo- cans ad volandum pulos suos, et super eos volians, expandit alas suas, et assumit eum, atque portavit in humis suis.	As an eagle forth- clepyng his bryddys to fle, and on hem houynge, he sprade out his weengis, and took to hym, and heer in his shuldres.	As an eagle styrng his bryddys to fle, and fleyng on hem, he spredde forth his wyngis, and took hem, and bar in his schul- dres.	Wie ein Adler ausflehret seine Jungen und ober- jnen schwebet, Er breitet seine Flitich ausz und nam in und trug sie auf seinen Flügeln.	As an eagle that sterrh vpp hyr nest and floterh ouer hyr younge, he stretched oute his wynges and toke hym vpp and bare hym on his shul- ders.	Independent, literal rendering of Heb.
13	יְרַחֵם בְּמִדְבַּר אֶרֶץ הָאֵלֶּל הַגִּבּוֹר שֶׁרִי הִנֵּקְהוּ הַבֶּשֶׂת מִסֶּלַע הַשָּׁמַן מִחִלְמִישׁ זֶרַח:	ἀνεβίβασεν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῇ ἰσχύν τῆς γῆς, ἐψώμασεν αὐ- τοῖς γενήματα ἀγρόν, ἐβίβασεν μέλι ἐκ πέτρης, καὶ ἐλασον ἐκ στερμα- τίνας.	Constituit eum super excelsam terram, ut comederet fruc- tus agrotum, ut suggeret mel de petra, oleumque de saxo durissimo;	He sette hym on an hige erthe, that he mygte ete the fruytis of feeldes, that he mygte sowke hony of the stoon, and oyle of the moost hard stone;	The Lord ordeynede hym on an hig lond, that he schulde ete the fruytis of feeldis, that he schulde souke hony of a stoon, and alle of the hardeste roche;	Er liesz in hoch ber- fahren auf Erden und nehret in mit den Früchten desz Feldes. Und liesz in Honig sougen ausz den Felsen und Oel ausz den harten Steinen.	He sett him vpp apon an hye londe, and he ate the encrease of the feldes. And he gaue him honye to sucke out of the rocke, and oyle out of the harde stone.	Follows Heb. V in- stead of L.
14	הַמֵּאָה בָּקָר יִחְלֹב אֶת- עֶסְרֵה לָבָד וְאֵלֶּים בְּנֵי- בֶשֶׁן יִקְרָדִים בְּשֵׁן הַחֶלֶב כְּלִיֹּת חֶמֶת וְהִסְתַּעֲבַב הַשֹּׁמֵר הַמֵּר:	βοῦτρον βοῶν καὶ γάλα προβάτων μετὰ στίκτου νε- φθών τυγροῦ, καὶ αἷμα σταφυλῆς ἐστὶν ὄνον,	Butyrum de armento, et lac de ovibus cum adipe agno- rum, et arctum filiorum Basan; et hircos cum medul- la tritici, et san- guinem uvae bi- beret meracissi- mum.	Butre of the drone, and mylke of sheep, with the tallow of loombes and of wethers, of the sones of Basan; and goot with margh of whete, and blood of grapis mygte drynk moost cleer.	Botere of the droue and mylke of sheep, with the fatnesse of lam- bren and of ram- mes, of the sones of Basan; and that he schulde ete kydis with the merowe of wheete, and schulde drynke the cleerest blood of grape.	Butter von den Kühen und Milch von Schafen samt dem fetten von den Lämern. Und feizte Wider und Böcke mit fetten Nieren und Weytzen und bloude of grapes träncket in mit gutem Trauben- blut.	With buter of the kyne and mylke of the shepe, with fatt of the lambes and fatt rammes and feizte wyther and gootes with fatt kydneys and with whete. And of the bloude of grapes thou dronkest wyne.	Follows L. in omi- ting בְּנֵי-בֶשֶׁן.

HEB.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
<p>וַיִּשְׁמַן יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּבְשֶׁת שְׂמִינֵת בְּיָמָיו כִּשְׂמֵת וַיִּשְׁמַן אֱלֹהֵי עֲשָׂרֵן יִיבֹכֵל בְּזֶרַע יִשְׂרָאֵל:</p>	<p>καὶ ἐθύνεν Ἰακώβ καὶ ἐκράνθη, καὶ ἀπελάττειν ὀργα- σμημένους, ἐλπίανθη, ἐπεχύνθη, ἐπλάτυν- θη· καὶ ἐκράνθη πεν τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτὸν, καὶ ἀπέστη, ἀπὸ θεοῦ σωτήρος αὐ- τοῦ.</p>	<p>Incrassatus est dilec- tus, et recalcitravit, incrassatus, imphig- uatus, dilatatus, dereliquit Deum factorem suum, et recessit a Deo sa- lutari suo.</p>	<p>Full fat maad is the loured, and agon wynsed; fulfilled, ful gresid, out- largid; he laft God his maker, and geed abak fro God, his gyuer of heelth.</p>	<p>The loured pople was maad fat, and kikide agen; maad fat withoutforth, maad fat with ynne, and alargid; he forsook God his makere, and gede awei fro God his helthe.</p>	<p>Da er aber fett und satt ward ward er Geyl. Er ist fett und dick und stark worden. Und hat den Gott fahren lassen der in ge- macht hat. Er hat den Felsz seines Heyls ge- ringe geachtet.</p>	<p>And Israel waxed fatt and kyked. Thou wast fatt, thicke and smoth, And he let God goo that made him and despyred the rocke that saued him.</p>	<p>Paraphrases instead of any of the alternatives of LXX V L.</p>
<p>וַיִּבְרָא יְהוָה לֹא אֱלֹהִים אֲדָרִים לֹא דְעִים הָדְשִׁים מִקֹּדֶם בְּאֵר לֹא שְׁעִים אֲבִיחֵבִים:</p>	<p>ἐθυσαν δαίμονιους καὶ οὐ θεῶ, θεοὺς οὓς οὐκ ᾔδεισαν· καυοὶ πρόσφατοι ἦσαν, οὓς οὐκ ᾔδεισαν οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν.</p>	<p>Immolaverunt dae- monis, et non Deo, diis, quos ignora- bant; novi recentis- que venerunt, quos non coluerunt patres eorum.</p>	<p>Thei offriden to deuels, and not to God, to goddis the whiche thei knew- en not; newe and fresshe camen, the whiche heriyden not the faders of hem.</p>	<p>Thei offriden to feen- dis, and not to God, to goddis the whiche thei knewen not, newe goddis, and firsch camen, whiche the faders of hem wor- schipiden not.</p>	<p>Sie haben den Feld- teufeln geopfert und nicht irem Gott den Göt- tern die sie nicht kenneten Den neuers die vor nich gewest sind die ewere Vätter nicht gechret ha- ben.</p>	<p>They offered vnto feldedeuls and not to God, and to goddess which they knewe not and to newe goddes that came newly vpp whiche their fathers feared not.</p>	<p>Adopts L's word.</p>
<p>מִי רֵעַב וְלֹחֲמֵי מִרְיָה רָקֵב מִרְיָה הִשְׁתַּבַּחְתָּ אֲשֶׁלֶּחֶבֶב כִּפְחֶמֶת וְחָלִי עָר:</p>	<p>τρώμενοι λιμῶ καὶ βρώσει ὀργῶν, καὶ ὀνισθησὶνος ἀνι- στῶς· ὁδόντας θρίων ἀνιστρέλω εἰς αὐ- τοὺς, μετὰ θυμοῦ συρόντων ἐπὶ νύ.</p>	<p>Consumerunt fame, et devorabant eos aves morsu amaris- simo; dentes hesi- arum immitiam in eos, cum furore trahentium super terram atque ser- pentium.</p>	<p>Thei shulen be was- tid with hungir, and briddis shulen deuour hem in biting moost bitter; teeth of bistis I shal sende in hem, with woodnes of hem drawinge on erthe, and creep- inge.</p>	<p>Thei shulen be waastid with hun- gur, and briddis shulen deuoure hem with bitterise biting; Y schal sende in to hem the teeth of beests, with the wood- nesse of wormes drawyng on erthe and of serpentis.</p>	<p>Für Hunger sollen sie verschmachten und verzehret werden vom Fieber und ichem Tod. Ich wil der Thier Zehne unter sie schicken und Schlangengift.</p>	<p>Burnt with hungre ad consumed with heet and with bit- ter pestilence. I will also sende the teeth of beestes vp- pon them and pay- son serpentes.</p>	<p>Independent and wrong. Follows L in omit- ting עָר but turns "Schlangen- gift" around.</p>

	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
De. 32:25	מִיָּד הַשֵּׁבִי חֶרֶב וּמִהֲדָרִים אִמְבָּה בְּסִבְבוּר בְּסִבְבוּלָה חֹק עֲשֵׂאֵר שִׁיבָה:	ἐξουθεν ἀρεσκῶσαι ἀν- τις μάχα, καὶ ἐκ τῶν τακτικῶν πό- λεως· νικασίους οὖν παρτίειν, θηράζων μετὰ καθαρῆς ἰσχύος πρὸς βίτου.	Foris vastabit eos gladius et intus pavor juvenem simul ac virginem, lactentem cum homine sene.	With out forth shal waast hem sword, and with yn forth dreed; the gong to gidre and may- den, the sowynge with the old man.	Sword with outforth and drede with ynne schal waste hem; a gong man and a virgyn to gidre, a soukyne child with an elde man.	Auszwendig wirt sie rauben und inn- wendig das schrecken beyde Jünglinge und Jungfrauen die Sauglinge mit dem grauen Mann.	Without forth, the sward shall robbe th off theire children: and withyn in the chamber, feare: both younge men and younge wemen and the suckelynges with the mē of gray herdes.	
26	אֲמַרְתִּי אֶפְאַרְהֶם אֲשִׁבְרָהֶם מִאֲנֹשׁ זָכָרִים:	εἶπα Διασπῶ ἀν- τις, παύσω δὲ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τὸ μηγ- μύσσον αὐτῶν·	Dixi: Unam sunt? cessare faciam ex hominibus memo- riam eorum.	And I seide, Where forsothe ben thi? to cesse Y shal maak fro men the mynde of hem.	And Y seide, where ben thi? Y schal make the mynde of hem to cesse of men.	Ich wil sagen: Wo sind sie? Ich werde ir gedäch- niz auffheben unter dē Mensch- en.	I haue determened to scatter the therowout the worlde, ād to make awaye the remē- braunce of them from amonge men.	Follows LXX, para- phrasing slightly; rejects the erro- neous rendering of V (H P) L.
27	כָּלֵב כָּעַס אֶרֶב אֲנֹר פִּי יִכְדָּר צִרְמָר פִּי יִצְמָר וְדָבָר יִהְיֶה וְלֹא יִחָדָה עַל כָּל יְדֹאֲתָי:	εἰ μὴ δὲ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐχθρῶν, ἵνα μὴ μα- κροχρονίσωσιν, ἵνα μὴ συνεπάρηται οἱ ὑπερταῖοι· μὴ εἰ- σὺν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ ἢ ὑψηλῇ καὶ οὐκ κύριοις ἐποίησεν ταῦτα πάντα.	Sed propter iram ini- micorum distuli, ne forte superbi- rent hostes eorum, et dicerent: Manus nostra ex- celsa, et non Domi- nus, fecit haec omnia.	But for the wrath of enemies I luffe for a while, lest per- aventure wolden weze proude the enemies of hem, and seye, Oure highe boond, and not the Lord, hath doon alle these things.	But Y delayede for the yre of enemies, lest peraventure the enemies of hem shulden be proude, and seie, Oure hig bond, and not the Lord, dide alle these thingis.	Wenn ich nit den zorn der Feinde scheuwete dasz nicht ire Feinde stoltz würden un- möchten sagen: Unser Macht ist hoch und der Herr hat nicht solches alles gethan.	Were it not that I feared the rayl- ynge off theyr enemies, lest theire aduersaries wolde be proude and saye: oure hye hande hath done al these workes and not the Lorde.	Rejects L's loose paraphrase
28	כִּי בָרַךְ אֲבִר עֲצֹת הַמָּדָה הָאֵין בָּרַךְ הַמְּבָרָה:	ἐθνος ἀπολαύσας βουλήν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήμη.	Gens absque consilio est, et sine pruden- tia.	Folk with out coun- sell it is, and with out wisdom;	It is a folk without counsel and with- out prudence;	Denn es ist ein Volk da kein Rath im ist und kein Verstand in jnen.	For it is a nation that hath an vn- happye forecast, and hath no vn- derstonge in them.	Independent and wrong

HEB.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
לִי נָקָם וְשָׁלוֹם לְבַת הַמֶּתֶת לְבָנִים כִּי קָרַב יוֹם אֲדָרֵם וְהָשָׁה בְּחַדִּים לְפָנָי:	ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐξεδίκασας ἀνταποδῶσθαι, ὅταν σφάλη ὁ ποῖς αὐ- τῶν, ὅτι ἐγγύς ἡμέ- ρα ἀνωλίας αὐτοῖς, καὶ πάρεστιν ἐτοι- μα ὑμῖν.	Mea est ultio, et Ego retribuam in tem- pore, ut labatur pes eorum, juxta est dies perditionis, et adesce festinant tempora.	Mya is veniaunce, and Y shal gred to hem in tyme, that the foot of hem shyde; nyg is the day of per- dition, and to be nyg higen the tymes.	Veniaunce is myn, and I schal gelle to hem in tyme, that the foot of hem shyde; the dai of perdition is nyg, and tymes hasten to be pre- sent.	Die Rache ist mein Ich wil vergel- ten zu seiner Zeit sol jr Fusz gleiten Denn die zeit jres unglücks ist næhe und jr künftiges eyet herzu.	Vengeance is myne and I will re- ward; their fate Follows L, wrong	
כִּי יִרְדּוּ הָרָה עַמּוֹ רַעֲלָה- עַבְדֵי הַנָּחֳם כִּי יִרְאֶה כִּי-אֶחָד יֵד וְאִם עַבְדֵּי הָעוֹבָה:	ὅτι κενεὶ Κύριος τὸν λαόν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ παρακληθή- σεται· ὅθεν γὰρ πα- ρακλημένοις αὐ- τοῖς καὶ ἐλεησάμε- νος ἐν ἐλεγχῶν καὶ παρεμύνοις.	Judicabit Dominus populum suum, et in servis suis mi- seribitur; videbit quod infirmata sit manus, et clausi quoque deferunt, residuique con- sumti sunt.	The Lord shal deme his puple, and in his seruautis he shal haue mercy; he shal se that feble be the boond, and closid forsothe han faylid, and the lafe ben wastid	The Lordschal deme his puple, and he shal do merci in hise seruautis; the puple schal se that the hond of figteres is sijk, and also men closid failliden, and the residues ben waastid.	Denn der Herr wirt sein Voick richten Und uber seine Knechte wirt er sich erharmon. Denn er wirt an- sehen dasz jre macht dahin ist Und beyde das verschlossen und verlassen weg ist. Schet jr nun dasz ichs allein bin Und ist kein Gott- nebenmir? Ich kan töden und leben- dig machen Ich kan schlagen und kan heylen und ist niemant der ausz meiner Hand errette.	For the Lorde will doo justice vnto hys people, and haue compassion on his seruantes. For it shalbe sene that there power shall fayle, and at the last they shalbe presoned and forsaken. Se now howe that I, I am he, and that there is no God but I. I can kyl and make lyll, ad what I haue smyten that I can heale; nether ys there that can delyuer any man oute off my honde.	Follows L. Follows L.
וְאִם עַבְדֵּי הָעוֹבָה:	ὅτι κενεὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἱ ἐσθ- νοὶ ἀποκτείνωσι καὶ ζῶν ποιήσω· παρ- έξω, ἀπὸ ἐσθ- νοῦ ἐξέλκται ἐκ τῶν ἐσθ- νοῦ μου.	Videte, quod Ego sim solus, et non sit alius Deus practer Me; Ego occidam, et Ego vivere faciam; per- cutiam, et Ego sanabo; et non est qui de manu Mea possit erueri?	Seeth that Y am alone, and there is noon other God saue me; I shal occidam, et I shal maak to lyue; Y shal smyte, and I shal heel; and there is not that fro myn hoond may delyuer.	Se ge that Y am aloue, and noon other God is out- akun me; Y schal sle, and Y schal make to lyue; Y schal smyte, and Y schal make hool; and noon is that may delyuere fro myn hond.		Does not follow L's correct rendering.	
וְאִם עַבְדֵּי הָעוֹבָה:	ὅτι κενεὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἱ ἐσθ- νοὶ ἀποκτείνωσι καὶ ζῶν ποιήσω· παρ- έξω, ἀπὸ ἐσθ- νοῦ ἐξέλκται ἐκ τῶν ἐσθ- νοῦ μου.	Videte, quod Ego sim solus, et non sit alius Deus practer Me; Ego occidam, et Ego vivere faciam; per- cutiam, et Ego sanabo; et non est qui de manu Mea possit erueri?	Seeth that Y am alone, and there is noon other God saue me; I shal occidam, et I shal maak to lyue; Y shal smyte, and I shal heel; and there is not that fro myn hoond may delyuer.	Se ge that Y am aloue, and noon other God is out- akun me; Y schal sle, and Y schal make to lyue; Y schal smyte, and Y schal make hool; and noon is that may delyuere fro myn hond.			

Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
DI. 32:43	εὐφραίνεσθε, οὐρανοὶ, καὶ αὐτὸς, καὶ προ- συνεστάντων αὐ- τῷ υἱὸς θεοῦ· ἐβ- φράνεσθε, ὄρη, με- τὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐνισχυσάντων αὐτῷ πάντες ἀγγε- λοὶ θεοῦ· ὅτι τὸ αἷμα τῶν νῆων αὐ- τοῦ ἐδόξαται, καὶ ἐδόξαται, καὶ ἀντα- ποδώσει δικὴν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς· καὶ τοῖς μισοῦσιν αὐτὸν πο- δῶσει, καὶ ἐκαθα- ρίσει Κύριος τὴν γῆν τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ.	Laudate gentes popu- lum ejus, quia san- guinem servorum suorum ulciscetur, et vindictam re- tribuet in hostes eorum, et propitius erit Terrae populi sui.	Preyse ge gentils, the puple of hym, for the blood of his servauntis he shal wreck, and veni- ounce he shal quyte into the enemies of hem, and he shal be merciful to the erthe of his puple.	Folkis, preise ge the puplis of hym, for he schal venite the blood of his ser- vauntis, and he shal gelde veni- aunce in to the enemies of hem; and he schal be merciful to the lond of his puple.	Jauchzet alle die jr sein Volk sey Denn er wil das Blut seiner Knechte rechen. Und wirt sich an seinen Feinden rechen un gnädig seyn vnto den londe off dem Lande seines Volcks.	Reioyse hethen with hys people, for he wil avenge the bloude off his ser- vauntes, and wyl avenge hym off hys aduersaries, and un gnädig seyn vnto the londe off hys people.	Independent and wrong (though this reading is adopted by the Revisers)
עֲמִי כִי יִדְבַּק עֲבָדָיו יָקוּם לְפָנָיו יִשְׁכַּח לְפָנָיו יִשְׁכַּח אֲדַמְתוּ עַמִּי:	αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάντες οἱ ἡγασμένοι ὑπὸ τῆς χριστεύσεως· καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ σε εἰσιν, καὶ ἐδέξασθαι αὐτὸ τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ,	Dilexit populos, om- nes sancti in manu illius sunt, et qui appropinquant pe- dibus ejus, accipi- ent de doctrina illius.	He, loude puples; alle seyntis in the boond of hym ben, and that neigen to the feet of hym, shulen taak of the loor of hym.	He loude puplis; alle seyntis ben in his bond, and thci that neigen to his feet shulen take of his doc- tryn.	Wie hat er die Leute so lieb? Alle seine Heiligen sind in deiner Hand Sie werden sich setzen zu deinen Füßen un wer- den lehren von deinen worten.	How loude he the people? All his sayntes are in his honde. They joynded themselves vnto thy foie and receaued thi wordes.	Follows L in making SS interrogative. Follows V (H P) against Heb. LXX L.
וְהָיָה בְּשִׁרְרוֹ מֶלֶךְ בְּהַחֲזָקָה וְהָיָה עַם יִשְׂרָאֵל שֶׁבְחֵי שְׁמָא:	καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῷ ἡγε- μονίᾳ ἡ ἀρχὴ, συ- νεχέσθων ἀρχόν- των λαοῦ ἐμα φου- λαῖς Ἰσραὴλ.	Erit apud rectissi- mum rex, congre- gatis principibus populi cum tribu- bus Israel.	And there shal be anentis the most nigra kyng, the princis of the puple gedrid with the lyna gis of Yrael.	And the king shal be at the most rigt- ful, whanne princes of the puple shulen be gaderid togidere with the lynagis of Israel.	Und er verwaldet das Ampt eines Kön- igs und hielt zu- sammen die Häup- ter des Volcks samt den Stäm- men Israhel.	And he was in Israel kinge when he gathered the heedes of the people and the tribes of Israel to gether.	Renders יִשְׂרָאֵל as before.

HEB.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
DI. 33:16	καὶ αὐθ' ὤραν γῆς πληρώσεως· καὶ τὰ δακτὰ τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ ἐν τῷ βῆτρῳ ἔλαθον· ἔτι ἐπὶ κεφαλῇ γιν' Ἰωσῆφ, καὶ ἐπὶ κορυφῇ δ' ἐξασθεῖς ἐπ' ἀέλεφός.	et de frugibus terrae, et de plenitudine ejus; benedictio illius, qui apparuit in rubo, veniat super caput Joseph, et super verticem nazaraei inter fratres suos,	And of fruytis of the erthe, and plene of it. Blessyng of hym that aperyde in the busshe come vpon the heed of Joseph, and vpon the fortop of Nazarey among his brethren.	and of the fruytis of the lond, and of the fulnesse thereof. The blessing of hym that apperide in the busch come on the heed of Joseph, and on the cop of Nazarey among his brethren.	Fruchten von der Erden und was drinnen ist. Die Grate des der in dem Busch wohnete komme auff das Haupt Joseph und auff den Scheytel des Nasir unter seinen Brüdern.	With goodly fruite of the erth and off the fulnesse there of. And the good will of him that dwelleth in the busch shall come vpon the heed of Joseph and vpon the toppe of the heed of him that was separated from among his brethren	
17	πρωτόσκακος ταύρου τὸ κάλλος αὐτοῦ, κέρτα μονοκίματος ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐθνη κέρταται ἀμα ὥς ἐπ' ἄστρον γῆς. αὐταὶ μυριάδες Ἐφραίμ, καὶ αὐτὰ χιλιάδες Μανασσή.	Quasi primo genitii tauri pulchritudo ejus, cornua rhinocerotis cornua illius, in ipsis ventiliabit gentes usque ad terminos Terrae; haec sunt multitudines Ephraim, et haec millia Manasse.	As of the first gotten boole the feines of hym, hornes of an vnicorn the hornes of him, in hem he shal wyndowe gentylis, vnto the termes of the erthe. Thes ben the multitudis of Ephraim, and thes thousands of manasse.	As the first genidrid of a boole is the feinesse of hym; the hornes of an vnicorn ben the hornes of hym; in th o he schal wyndene folkis, til to the termes of erthe. These ben the multiudis of Efraym, and these thousands of Manasse.	Seine Herrligkeit ist wie ein Erstgeborner Ochse und seine Hörner sind wie Einhörners Hörner. Mit denselbigen wirt er die Völker stossen zuhauff lissz an das Landes ende Das sind die tausend Ephraim und die tausend Manasse.	His lewtye is as a firstborne oxe and his hornes as the hornes of an vnicorne. And with them he shall push the nations to gether, euen vnto the endes of the worlde. These are the many thousands of Ephraim and the thousands off Manasse.	Translates זכר again. Follows V L which do not strictly render the Heb.

HEB.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
DI. 33: 20	Και τῷ Ἰσὺ ἐρευνῶν· Ἐπι- λύοντες Ἰσὺ ὡς λέων ἀνεκταύσαντο, συν- τριψάσθαι βραχίονα καὶ ἄρματα.	Et Gad ait: Bene- dictus in latitudine Gad; quasi leo requievit, cepitque brachium et verti- cem.	And to Gad he saith, Blesid in breede Gad, as a lioun he restide, and he took arme and fortop.	And he seide to Gad, Gad is bles- sid in broodnesse; he restide as a lioun, and he took the arm and the nol.	Und zu Gad sprach er: Gad sey geseg- net der Raum- macher. Er ligt wie ein Löuw und raubet den Arm und die Scheitel.	And vnto Gad he said: blessed is the rowmaker Gad. He dwell- eth as a lion and caught the arme ad also the toppes of the heed.	Adopts L's word.
21	καὶ ἰδὲν ἀπαρχὴν αὐ- τοῦ, ὅτι ἐκεί ἐπε- ρίσθη γὰρ ἀρχόντων, συντηγμένον ἅμα ἀπαρχαῖς λαοῦ· δι- καιοσύνην Κύριος ἐποίησεν καὶ κρι- σιν αὐτοῦ μετὰ Ἰσραὴλ.	Et vidit principatum suum, quod in parte sua doctor esset repositus, qui fuit cum principi- bus populi et fecit iustitias Domini, et iudicium suum cum Israel.	And he saug his prynschod, that in his paart a doc- tour he was seid up; the which was with princis of puple, and dide rightwisnes of the Lord, and hys doom with Yrael.	And he sig his prins- hed, that the techere was kept in his part; which Gad was with the princes of the puple, and dide the rightfulness of the Lord, and his doom with Israel.	Und er sahe daz im ein Haupt gegeben war ein Lehrer der ver- borgen ist wel- cher kam mit dem Obersten desz Volcks und ver- schafft die Gerech- tigkeit desz Herrn und seine Rechte an Israel.	He sawe his begyn- nyng, that a parte of the teach- ers were hyd there ad come with the beedes of the poe- ple, and executed the rightcousnes of the Lorde and his iudgements with Israel.	In this corrupt pas- sage we can only say that T had his own guess, which is no better and no worse than the rest.
25	σίδεργος καὶ χαλκός τὸ ὑπόδημα αὐτοῦ ἔσται, ὡς αἱ ἡμέραι σου ἢ ταχύς σου,	Ferrum et aces cal- ceamentum ejus: Sicut dies iuuentu- tis tuae, ita et senectus tua	Yrun and bras the shoyng of him; as days of thi gouth so and thin celde.	Yrun and bras the scho of hym; as the dai of thi gouth so and thin celde.	Eysen und Erzt sey an seinen Schuhen Dein Alter sey wie deine Jugend.	Yern and brasse shall hang on thi shoes and thine age shalbe as thi youth.	Follows V H P L against Heb. LXX.

HEB.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
<p>Dr. 33:26</p> <p>אין כאל שרון רכב שמים בעור הבואור חקים: מכה אלר קום המרות העת פולם הנרש מפיר אוב ויאמר השמר:</p>	<p>οὐκ ἔστιν ὡπτερ ὁ θεός τοῦ ἡγαγέ- ντος· ὁ ἀνέβαινον ἐπὶ τὸν οὐρανόν βοήθῃ σου, καὶ ὁ μεγαλοπρεπὲς τοῦ στρατοῦματος· καὶ ἀνέβησεν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀρχῆ. καὶ ὑπὸ ἰσχυρὸν βραχίωνος ἀνέβη· ἐξέβαλεν ἀπὸ προσώπου σου ἐχρούς, λέγων· Ἀπό- λοο.</p>	<p>Non est Deus alius, ut Deus rectissim; ascensor caeli aus- iliator tuus. Mag- nificencia ejus dis- current nubes, habitaraculum ejus sursum, et subter brachia sempli- terna; ejiciet a facie tua inimicum, dicetque: Con- terere.</p>	<p>There is noon other god as the moost right God; the stier of heuen thin helper, thurg the hidows doyngs of hym to and fro ren- nen the clowdes. The dwellynge place of hym is above, and vnder armes cuerlastyng armys; he shal cast out fro thi face the enemy, and he shall seye Be thou to seye.</p>	<p>Noon other god is as the God of the moost rightful; the stiere of heuene, thin helper, the cloudis rennen about the glorie of hym. His dwellynge place is above, and armes cuerlast- yng ben byneth; he schal caste out fro thi face the enemy, and he schal seie, Be thou al to brokun.</p>	<p>Es ist kein Gott als der Gott desz Gerechten der in Himmel sitzt der sey deine Hülff und desz Herr- ligkeit in Wolcken ist Das ist die Wohnung Gottes von anfang und unter den Armen ewiglich. Und er wirt für dir her deinen Feindt ausztreiben und sagen : Sey vertilget. Israel wirt sicher allein wohnen Der Brunn Jacob wirt seyn auff dem Lande da Korn und Most ist dazu sein Himmel wirt mit Thaw treffen.</p>	<p>There is none like vnto the God of the off Israel: he that sitteth vppon heauen shalbe thine helpe, whose glorie is in the cloudes, that is the dwelling place of God from the be- gynnyng and from vnder the armes of the worlde: he hath cast out thine enemies before the and sayed: de- stroye. And Israel shall dwell in safteye alone, And the eyes of Jacob shall loke appon a londe of corne and wyne, morouer his heauen shall droppe with dewe.</p>	<p>Translates ישרן The passage puzzles all the translators. T follows L in the first clause, ventures into the realm of independ- ent conjecture in the second, with- out conveying any intelligible mean- ing. Follows V against L.</p>
<p>השכן ישראל בבית בדר בין רכב אל-ארץ דן היוורש אש-שמר תפרס-מל:</p>	<p>καὶ κατασκευάσει Ἱσραὴλ περὶ ὧσας, μόνος ἐπὶ γῆς Ἰα- κώβ· ἐπὶ οὐρανόσ αὐτος, καὶ ὁ οὐρανός σου, συννεφέης δρό- σος.</p>	<p>Ha! ita! Israel con- fidenter, et solus, Oculus Jacob in terra frumenti et vini, caelique cali- gant rore.</p>	<p>Yrael shal dwelle trustily, and alone; the eye of Jacob in the lond of whete, and of wyn; and heuens schulen wexe derk thurg dewe.</p>	<p>Israel schal dwelle trestle and alone; in the lode of whete, and of wyn; and heuens schulen ben derk with deu.</p>	<p>Israel wirt sicher allein wohnen Der Brunn Jacob wirt seyn auff dem Lande da Korn und Most ist dazu sein Himmel wirt mit Thaw treffen.</p>	<p>And Israel shall dwell in safteye alone, And the eyes of Jacob shall loke appon a londe of corne and wyne, morouer his heauen shall droppe with dewe.</p>	<p>Follows V against L.</p>

From such comparisons, carried through the Pentateuch, we discover: (1) that Tyndale did not make a literal, unaided version from the Hebrew, as if no other translation existed; (2) that he did not modernize and revise the work of Nicholas de Hereford and John Purvey; (3) that he did not make a translation from the Vulgate and then revise it by comparison with the Hebrew and Luther's version.

1. If Tyndale had confined himself to the Hebrew, referring only occasionally to the Vulgate or Luther for help on obscure passages, we should expect only occasional coincidences of phraseology and interpretation with those versions, and these in places where some special reason for difficulty existed. But this is not the condition shown by the parallel versions. In simple narrative prose there is little room for alternative renderings, hence examples taken from such material yield negative results: if Tyndale in such chapters follows V and L closely, it is simply because they in turn follow the Hebrew closely, and no one can say in any given verse which text lay before Tyndale's eyes when he wrote his translation of it. But coincidences in such passages as the three poetic chapters quoted afford positive evidence of borrowing, not only in the difficult, but in the easy verses. A Hebrew sentence in the poetic style, even though not obscure, may be translated with many more chances of variety than a prose sentence; and a large proportion of agreements with Luther here cannot be accidental.

But the comparison of the versions, even in the few passages presented in the preceding pages, establishes beyond any question what has sometimes been seriously denied—that Tyndale did use the Hebrew in his Pentateuch. The cases where he, against all the versions, renders the Hebrew literally are not numerous, but they are incontrovertible. Evidence of Tyndale's acquaintance with Hebrew, drawn from his own autobiographical references in his writings, and in the glossaries of proper names attached to the books of the Pentateuch, may be held by some judges not conclusive as to anything more than a smattering of the language. But these cases of independent correct rendering from the Hebrew imply thorough study.

It is to be noted that Tyndale learned, either from Luther's version or from his own study, much of the correct syntax of dependent clauses introduced by *Waw*. He translates many of these more in accordance with the correct principles of rendering Semitic idiom into English than our English translators of later times have shown. He is generally right in his treatment of the Hebrew tenses, abandoning the slavish literalness

of the Septuagint and Vulgate;¹ though here again one must often admit his indebtedness to Luther. In common with the ancient versions and with Luther, he sometimes ignores the construct as shown by the pointing and the absence of the article, which seems a rather serious fault in a translator. One characteristic difference from Luther is that he retains certain Hebrew idioms which lend themselves well to rhythms of English style; for example, where the Hebrew would say "sacrifices of righteousness," Luther would make it perhaps "righteous sacrifices," but Tyndale would keep the construct with the abstract noun. One might trace this idiom from Tyndale's Pentateuch down through the later translators of the Old Testament into its many ramifications in English prose style.

Tyndale is too honest to slip out of a difficulty by a vague paraphrase, as Luther did. Examples of this are found in the chapters quoted. In few cases did Tyndale possess the scholarship to hit on the correct clue to a puzzle due to corrupt text or a *hapax legomenon*; but he at least has the courage to abandon Luther when the German translator merely blinked the difficulty. Sometimes he prefers in such cases to cling to the time-honored rendering of Jerome; sometimes he offers his own conjecture, which is often wrong. There is at least a measure of independence in this attitude.

Tyndale was a much better scholar in Greek than in Hebrew, and we should therefore expect extensive use of the Septuagint. There are sufficient data to prove that he consulted it constantly; but, after all, it afforded him comparatively little assistance, because the chief value of this version—as a guide in textual emendation—was unknown in Tyndale's day. There is no evidence in Tyndale's Pentateuch, so far as the present writer has discovered, that he ventured a single emendation of the Masoretic text on textual grounds.²

2. As to the use made of the Wiclifite versions, Tyndale's own declaration that he derived no aid from them is on the whole supported by the comparison. Both Hereford's and Purvey's versions are not only Middle English, thoroughly obsolete in 1529, but they are very crabbed and unidio-

¹ This knowledge he used in his translation of the New Testament Greek. "If ought seme chaunged, or not alto gether agreyng with the Greke, let the finder of the faute cōsider the Hebrue phrase, or maner of speache left in the Greke wordes. Whose preterperfectence and presentence is of both one, and the futurtence is the optative mode also, and the futurtence is of the imperative mode in the active voyce and in the passive ever. Like wise person for person, nombre for nōbre, and interrogative for a condicionall and suche lyke is with the Hebrues a comon usage." ("Preface to N. T., William Tindale unto the Christian Reader.")

² See, for example, Gen. 49:19.

matic Middle English, because copied bodily, and often unintelligently, from the Vulgate. The case is far different from that of Wiclif's own version of the New Testament, connection between which and Tyndale's New Testament is much closer, as has been shown by writers on that subject. Where we find coincidences of phrase between Tyndale's Pentateuch and the two fourteenth-century versions, we can usually trace them to the common Latin source. Occasionally a combination of words occurs which cannot be referred to such a source, and we are led to surmise that Tyndale's recollection of versions doubtless familiar to him in early life influenced him in the choice of a phrase; but these instances are not sufficiently numerous to establish any presumption that he had a manuscript of either version before him in Germany.

3. Nothing is made clearer by the comparison than that the Vulgate was not Tyndale's basis in his work. He was fond of saying that Hebrew was much more like English than it was like Latin; and, indeed, he showed in many little ways that he had no love for the official ecclesiastical version. If he had worked directly and primarily from it, he could not have avoided many Latin idioms, especially in the syntax, which are absent from his translation. While no doubt influenced by the Vulgate in the choice of words, such as "create," "firmament," and many more, it is most certainly not the text from which he directly translated.

The conclusion at which we arrive, therefore, by the process of exclusion, is that Tyndale in translating his Pentateuch kept constantly before him the Hebrew text and Luther's version, with the Septuagint and Vulgate within easy reach, and fragments of the Middle English archaisms running through his mind as he worked; that he probably made his first draft from the German, checking it constantly by the Hebrew, and departing from it in nearly every case where he detected Luther in an evasion; that he carried into this work the same principle already established in his New Testament, of making an idiomatic English work in the language of the common people rather than of the learned; transferring such Semitic idioms as approved themselves to him as easily understood and more vigorous than paraphrase.

It has been pointed out, in the earlier part of this paper, that the unhappy fate by which Tyndale's Old Testament was cut off so near the beginning should not detract from the honor due to him as the father of Hebrew scholarship among Englishmen, and the author of the first version in English made from the Hebrew. To attempt to estimate his influence on the style of the men who completed the Old Testament after his death would lead us too far into the realm of conjecture. It will suffice to insist

that in the year 1529 there were many different ways of translating the five books of Moses, any one of which might have been adopted by an Englishman with Tyndale's equipment; many styles, most of which would have been Latinized, cumbrous, and periphrastic; and that of all these the one which we find in our Bible today is the style of Tyndale, which no Englishman had used before him. Whether one should call this a case of direct literary lineage, or should rather refer it to widely diffused linguistic influences which brought about a great change between the beginning and the middle of the sixteenth century, is a matter of opinion. If we bring into our field of view at this point Tyndale's New Testament, the popularity and influence of which were so much greater, there can remain no doubt that the martyr of Vilvorde deserves the pre-eminent rank so often accorded to Coverdale and the bishops who entered into the reward of his heroic labors.

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